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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1147



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INTERNATIONAL

WEST'S SUPPORT OF DICTATORIAL REGIMES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ATTACKED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 81 (signed to press 26 Feb 81) pp 19-21

Article by V. Fedorov, candidate of historical sciences: "The Army and Authoritarian Regimes in the Orient"7

Text The role of the army in the political life of developing countries has attracted increasing attention among researchers in the last few years. The heightened interest in this problem is quite natural, because the most significant changes in the content and structure of political power in these countries in the last two decades in most cases have occurred with the direct use or participation of the armed forces.

For example, the army's active participation in the sphere of social and political reforms in the countries that chose the noncapitalist way of development often contributed to the execution of profound revolutionary changes and to the strengthening of their political independence. During the periods of establishment of revolutionary military dictatorships in these countries the army acted as the spokesman for the interests and aspirations of the wide popular masses.

At the same time, in some developing countries the forces of internal reaction and imperialist circles succeeded in using the armed forces for the establishment of antipopular, dictatorial regimes and in transforming them into an instrument of fight against national liberation and democratic movements and of policy pursued in the interest of a narrow privileged stratum of society.

Despite the seeming independence of the actions and operations of the military command and of various military groupings, the army as a state institution and as the main tool of state power in developing countries has always been an instrument of imposition of systems advantageous for certain classes or social groups on society. In this connection Soviet researcher G. I. Mirskiy rightly noted that a relative autonomy and independence of the army can be mentioned only with respect to countries very poorly developed from the socioeconomic and political point of view.

In fact, although army actions aimed at protecting corporative interests and the privileges of the military themselves took place in a number of young states, especially in Africa in the early 1960's, as a rule, these actions did not lead to

any significant changes in the social and political sphere. The overwhelming majority of military coups and other forms of "army intervention in politics" were the result of aggravation of the socioeconomic and political contradictions in society at large.

Undoubtedly, the internal political role of the army, police and other repressive bodies is different in different developing countries and is determined primarily by the nature of the political regime. Openly authoritarian regimes, under the conditions of which the repressive apparatus is one of the main instruments of realization of power by ruling groupings, occupy a special place among the countries of capitalist development in the Orient. At the same time, the use of methods of coercion is also characteristic to one degree or another of other countries developing along the capitalist way.

In developed capitalist countries the bourgeoisie, which is the ruling class, ensures its social supremacy mainly by means of economic measures of coercion and political (including military) violence is an additional guarantee of the strength of positions of the ruling class. However, in states of capitalist development in the Orient ruling groupings, in order to protect their interests and the interests of the social forces they represent, are forced to rely more on noneconomic measures and to resort to authoritarian methods of rule with the support of the army, police and other coercive bodies.

A ramified repressive apparatus with permanent political, as well as ideological, functions was formed on the basis of the armed forces and police in countries with military-dictatorial (military-bureaucratic and military-oligarchic) regimes at the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's. In addition to the army and police, it includes semimilitary formations, whose number has increased especially in the last few years, army and police reserves, paramilitary organizations and various bodies for the ideological treatment of the population, such as the services of "psychological war," "moral reorientation," "civilian mission" and so forth. As a rule, control over the activity of all these bodies is in the hands of the military command.

Refinement of the apparatus of coercion and political control led to the establishment in some countries of centralized, actually nonconstitutional, sovereign bodies of the type of SAVAK in Iran (before the overthrow of the shah), the Central Intelligence Agency in South Korea and KOPKAMTIB (Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order) in Indonesia. Possessing unlimited power, these bodies extend their activity to all the spheres of life--political, economic, cultural and even religious.

In a number of other countries similar functions, although not on such a wide scale, are entrusted to special, primarily military, bodies of the type of national security councils (committees and commands), which centrally direct the activity of army, police and civilian services connected with the suppression and neutralization of opposition forces.

Thus, the structure and functions of the troops and police reflect the nature of the political regime and in a broader sense, the political superstructure in one country or another. For example, in India, where the principle of parliamentary democracy is in effect, the party system and other bourgeois-democratic institutions, the armed forces and the police apparatus in their institutional status and functions greatly differ from similar bodies in countries with authoritarian regimes. The Indian army can be considered the most professional and less politicized (as compared with other developing countries) institution, which is legislatively and actually separate from internal security bodies and is called upon mainly to perform loreign political functions, although, naturally, if needed, can be enlisted in the solution of problems of an internal nature.

An analysis of the events of the last decades shows that in most developing countries of capitalist orientation, as a rule, changes in political leadership are made through the use of the apparatus of coercion or in exceptional cases (revolutionary acts of the wide popular masses and successful actions of armed antigovernment forces), through its neutralization or destruction.

However, it would be incorrect to consider armies in developing countries only the tool of various social class forces, an instrument for the attainment of their own goals, because the armies themselves do not remain aloof from social movements and complex processes of political demarcation occur in them. Therefore, the possible ways of further development of countries, which experience or experienced a military dictatorial government, although, basically, are determined by the disposition of class forces in society, on the whole, also depend in large measure on the effect of factors directly connected with the military organization. They include the following: interconnection of the political struggle in society and the armed forces; political orientation of the command and officers' corps and their social relations; degree of reliability of the control over the armed forces on the part of ruling circles; political loyalty of various categories of servicemen; ability of imperialist circles to use the army for their purposes and many others.

The special place that the apparatus of coercion occupies in the political system also predetermines the active role of the armed forces themselves (in the person of the military command and various army groupings) in politics. At the same time, it should be taken into consideration that the motives of their political actions can reflect not only the social class struggle within the country, but the effect of external factors as well. Most of the reactionary military coups in Asian and African countries were staged with the direct support of the United States and other imperialist states, which consider the armies dependent on them some of the main instruments of effect on internal political processes in developing countries with a view to directing them to a channel advantageous for them.

Along with attempts to win the officers' corps of these armies over to their side through purposeful ideological treatment, military and financial assistance and so forth, the United States and other Western countries try to establish their control over the basic units of the repressive apparatus. The army and police bodies that directly perform political functions prove to be most closely connected with imperialist circles, because, as a rule, they are established, improved, trained and equipped with the help or under the direct guidance of the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States and of the military departments and special services of other Western countries. These bodies (security and intelligence services, special-purpose troops, crack paratroop and armored units and special police subunits) are the basic support of dictatorial regimes, as well as the main tool of coups d'etat.

From the end of the 1950's the United States and its allies planted and supported dictatorial regimes in a number of developing countries, assuming that the dictatorships dependent on them were not only a reliable means of fighting national liberation movements and the "threat of communism," but also the most effective guarantee of capitalist "modernization" in these countries and their retention in the capitalist system.

In fact, after the establishment of military dictatorships in some developing countries dependent on imperialism to one degree or another a relative acceleration of economic growth and of the development of capitalism was observed. This was aided not only by the influx of foreign capital and the economic assistance received from Western countries, but also by the fact that at first, under the conditions of removal of the representatives of traditional circles (the feudal-land-owner clique) from power, conditions were created for a freer activity of the national bourgeoisie and the development of the state sector.

Subsequently, however, the military and civilian bureaucracy, leaning on the repressive apparatus and actually using the levers of a forced redistribution of income, was quickly transformed into a clan of capitalist bureaucrats. This process of transformation of the military-bureaucratic clique into a bourgeoisie was of a reactionary nature, because it was directed against the fundamental interests of the working population, as well as infringed upon the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie.

In Asian, African and Latin American countries with openly authoritarian regimes the process of transformation of military "modernizers" proved to be truly universal. For example, at first the Indonesian army differed significantly from the armies of other countries of postcolonial Asia in its origin and history. At one time Sukarno pointed this out: "Our armed forces were not created by the state. They emerged spontaneously among the popular masses... They are the moving force of the revolution." However, in the middle of the 1970's the military-police complex in Indonesia differed little from similar organizations of states with authoritarian regimes and the highest officer stratum, "spokesmen for the people's aspirations," going through a stage of military bureaucracy, is now being transformed into private entrepreneurs and bankers. In Thailand this process was completed at the end of the 1960's, because it was accelerated by the influx of American assistance, rapid joining of military bureaucrats with Chinese business and efficiently organized mechanism of corruption.

Capitalist "modernization" supported by the apparatus of coercion was accompanied by a sharp intensification of the process of social polarization, decline in the standard of living of the working masses and in a number of countries the peasants' dispossession of land and impoverishment. "Modernization" led to the narrowing of the social support of ruling military-bureaucratic and military-oligarchic groupings, which expressed the interests of the upper stratum of the national bourgeoisie. The working masses, as well as a significant part of the national bourgeoisie, middle strata and intelligentsia, were in the opposition to the military dictatorship. In the early 1970's the corrupted ruling military dictatorial groupings, which artificially hampered the evolution of superstructure institutions, in most countries became not only an obstacle to social progress, but to the further progressive development of capitalism as well. The introduction of stricter methods of rule and in connection with this the further improvement in the apparatus of coercion only aggravated the structural crisis that emerged.

Having monopolized political power, military-dictatorial groupings destroyed the safety valves that even under the conditions of limited civil liberties could have promoted a decline in the level of social discontent. The repressions against any opposition justified by the need to fight the "communist threat" and to maintain "stability" allegedly for the purpose of ensuring "flourishing" and "economic growth" ruled out any possibility of legal opposition activity. Therefore, social outbursts assuming the form of popular uprisings (Iran and Nicaragua) or actions by individual strata of the population (Thailand, October 1973 and South Korea, May 1980) become natural.

Openly authoritarian regimes (especially proimperialist military dictatorships) have revealed their inability to effectively govern society and to solve complex socioeconomic problems. The threat of social upheavals forces the ruling circles of a number of countries to reject purely dictatorial methods of rule and to camour lage themselves under "democratic facades" with a view to expanding the social support, primarily at the expense of the lower and middle strata of the national bourgeoisie. However, as experience shows, ruling groupings try to "liberalize" the regimes under the strict control of the existing military-police apparatus in order to prevent an active participation of the wide popular masses in political life. In an attempt to muffle the discontent of indigent and poor strata at the cost of certain measures of a social nature (some reforms in the agrarian sphere, increase in minimum wages and so forth), at the same time, ruling circles try to prevent fundamental changes in the existing socioeconomic structure. In the final analysis, "liberalization" should contribute to the establishment of "social peace" not in society at large, but only within the bourgeois class, which is gaining strength, for which the framework of the military dictatorship is narrow.

As before, the military-police apparatus performs repressive functions with respect to workers with a view to confining the process of "liberalization" to the limits of "special-type democracy." At the same time, the repressive apparatus can be used if it becomes necessary to return to authoritarian rule.

To illustrate this situation, we can again turn to the history of Thailand. There the military clique, heading reactionary forces and using the repressive apparatus, which was established during the period of the military dictatorship and continued to remain under its full control throughout the 3-year civilian rule, in October 1976 staged a military coup for the purpose of destroying the progressive movement and leftist forces. However, the attempts by military circles to subsequently stabilize the situation in the country by means of the old dictatorial methods were futile and at the end of 1977 they were forced to declare their intention "to lead the country to democracy." Nevertheless, the new constitution adopted in connection with this enabled army and police representatives after the April 1977 elections to occupy, as during the period of dictatorial rule, an absolute majority of seats (86 percent) in the appointed senate, as well as reserved key posts in executive government bodies to the military. Simultaneously with the adoption of a "democratic" constitution a new law was confirmed on intensification of the fight against antigovernment forces and expansion of powers for local military authorities for control over the population under the pretext of the fight against the "communist threat."

Last year's events in South Korea give us an even more striking example of a regime's "liberalization." After the murder of President Pak Chong-hui in October 1977 his successors declared their intention to make a "transition from the authoritarian regime to democracy." The activity of the liberal bourgeois opposition was permitted and some civil liberties were restored. However, when in the spring of 1980 workers, the petty bourgeoisie, radical students and the intelligentsia, which demanded intensification of democratic reforms, began to join the process of "liberalization," the ruling grouping activated the powerful repressive apparatus created with the help of the United States and a "strong man," this time in the person of General Chun Doo Hwan, director of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency, again appeared in the political arena. In May 1980 special-purpose units cruelly suppressed an uprising by the population in the city of Kwangju. Thus, the process of "liberalization" was stopped.

The intensified political demarcation in the army itself, mainly in its officers' corps, as a result of the intensified class differentiation in society, also has a direct effect on the evolution of authoritarian regimes. Contradictions between the corrupted clique of generals, which joined the economic and political elite of these countries, and the young generation of "professional" officers, many of whom received training in Western countries and adhere to anticommunist and, on the whole, antidemocratic views, but are forced to take into consideration the need to carry out reforms and to improve the government system for the purpose of reducing the sharpness of socioeconomic contradictions and attaining internal stability, have become aggravated in almost all countries with military-dictatorial and military-bureaucratic regimes in the last few years.

The aggravation of differences in the officers' corps as a result of the intensified class struggle in society creates the prerequisites for the appearance of progressive and anti-imperialist sentiments among a certain part of the officers, especially those who come from middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie. However, this latent accumulation of dissatisfaction with the existing regime can openly manifest itself within the framework of a military organization only under conditions of crisis situations, when the ruling circles and the military clique begin to lose effective control over the army. Nevertheless, these contradictions in the officers' corps, which ruling groupings, as a rule, including the military clique, are forced to take into consideration, also contribute to the transformation of military dictatorships into regimes of "controlled" and other "democracy."

In the last few years this tendency in the evolution of openly authoritarian regimes in countries depending on imperialism has been more and more supported by the United States and other Western countries. Imperialist states, although they continue to consider military coups and military dictatorships the most reliable and effective means of suppressing anti-imperialist and national liberation movements, reach the conclusion that in the future military dictatorships will not be able to ensure their strong positions in developing countries. The threat of social outbursts and wide anti-imperialist movements forces the ruling circles of imperialist states to support the "transition to democracy" of countries with military dictatorial regimes and their "liberalization" in the variant described above. At the same time, the ruling circles of Western countries try to retain their influence in the armies of the developing states dependent on them, as before, considering these armies the main tested instrument for safeguarding their interests.

The attempt to lend a "humane" and "democratic" nature to reactionary military dictatorships is nothing but the reaction of imperialism to changes occurring in a number of developing countries, in particular to the intensification of the structural crisis in them. Obviously, this is a new tactic of neocolonialism caused by its long-term plans for strengthening its influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Thus, the fight for control over the army continues to be in the center of the political antagonism in developing countries with authoritarian regimes. Both the desire by new social class forces to involve the army in the process of reorganization of the political system in accordance with their interests and aspirations and the attempts by traditional and nontraditional circles to preserve the status quo are manifested in this fight.

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INTERNATIONAL

CRIMEAN TATAR PRESS CELEBRATES THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF AFGHAN REVOLUTION

Tashkent LENIN BAYRAGHI in Crimean Tatar 28 Apr 81 p 3

[Article by M. Ayupov, Candidate of Historical Sciences: "Afghanistan on a New Path"]

[Text] The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is stepping with assurance along the path of a profound revolutionary and economic renewal. Agrarian reform, which is closely tied to the country's fundamental problems of economic, social and cultural growth, holds center stage. This is not by chance. Afghanistan is an agrarian country which is weakly developed in the economic sector. Eighty percent of its national revenue is derived from agriculture.

The majority of the people are peasants. That is, the soil is considered their sole means of livelihood. Feudal relationships that have continued throughout the centuries have meant that millions of men are exploited by a handful of wealthy men.

The historical decree No. 8 of the Revolutionary Council declared that "from here on the lands of the landowners are given to the men who work them." The new decree was an important step toward the liquidation of feudalism and feudal relationships. It rescued the Afghan peasantry from the oppression which they have suffered over the centure at the hands of the landowners.

The agrarian reforms are not limited to handing over the lands of the landowners to the poor and needy. In accordance with the decree no. 6 accepted by the Revolutionary Council, debts equivalent to 33 billion afghanis owed by the peasants to the landowners and merchants were dissolved. The 11.5 million people in debt, 90 percent of the peasant community in Afghanistan, were officially freed from debt. The party and government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan evaluated from all angles the question of organizing the agricultural sector into cooperative farms, and unanimously supported the desire of the peasants to be organized. Each member of the cooperative can use his own produce and the income he gets from it as he wishes. He pays an annual fee to his co-op according to the size of his household. The money accumulated in this way is spent on purchasing needed livestock from the state.

At the beginning of 1981, 1,145 cooperative farms were set up in Afghanistan, and 50 percent of the cultivated land in the country is under this plan. By the

end of the first five-year-plan (1979-1984), the number of co-ops will reach 4,500. By 1984, the proportionate weight of goods which they produce will form 70 percent of the general volume of agricultural goods produced in the country.

In December 1980, for the first time in the history of the country, a congress of rural co-ops was held in Kabul. Six-hunared fifty delegates from various corners of Afghanistan participated in its activities. The congress discussed the tasks of further developing the co-op movement, as well as ways and means of increasing agricultural productivity.

Up until the April revolution, industry in Afghanistan was characterized as one of the weakest production forces. Oriental fuedal prictices and foreign exploiters had not previously made it possible to develop Afghani industries as was necessary.

After the April revolution, great attention began to be paid to this important area. The USSR provides great assistance in developing Afghan industries. In 1980, the successful completion of the annual plan for production of industrial goods in the DMA and the development of industry and energy helped to stabilize the internal situation in the country.

It is well-known that capitalist counties, Maoists, and their lackeys wish to oppress the DRA as of old and to wreak as much damage to the republic's national economy as possible. However, regardless of all the efforts of the enemies of the April Revolution, the financial situation of the country is good. The strategy for economic policy outlined by the party of the Afghanistan People's Republic and the council and government of the DRA does the job in that it produces the possibility for successfully improving the welfare of the Afghan people and for achieving, at a regulated, dynamic pace, the development of both the co-ops and the private sector of the national economy. It is necessary to emphasize that the friendship between the DRA and the USSR and the assistance of the country of Soviets are significant factors in the economic development of Afghanistan while it is constructing a new society where the exploitation of one man by another man will not be permitted.

in this connection, the Bakhtar Press Agency has stressed that the Afghan-Soviet friendship which has prevailed for more than 60 years has a principled and solid character. These ties, which were established by the great Lenin, have served and are serving the interests of peace in the region.

The Agency stressed that with the help of the Soviet Union more than 100 heavy industries and agricultural projects have been constructed in Afghanistan. They are crucially important in the development of the national economy of the country.

Great changes are also taking place in the cultural life of the country. Among its first acts, the DRA began to pay great attention to cultural problems. The most important of these is obviously the liquidation of illiteracy. Before the April Revolution, 95 percent of the men and 99 percent of the women did not know how to read and write. Just 30 percent of the children went to school, so that, by decree, one and a half million children were doomed to illiteracy.

The revolution created broad possibilities for all works, sof the republic to get an education. After the revolution, more than 500 schools were opened in 1 year, 18,000 courses aimed at liquidating illiteracy were offered and close to 5 million people attended them.

Health care remains a serious concern to the republic. When the April Revolution took place, there was one doctor for every 15,000 people and one hospital for every 800,000 people in the country. The average life expectancy of people was 35-40 years. The DRA has paid great attention to the preparation of medical cadres, dozens of clinics where free medical aid is dispersed have been opened, and at the present time four medical universities are in operation in the country.

The people's government has declared equality between men and women. A decree concerning marriage and the family was accepted by the Revolutionary Council in October 1980. It prohibited the sale of women and giving young girls in early marriage and it gave girls the right to marry whom they please.

The people's government removed the limitations placed on culture and language. The Turmens, Baluch and Uzbeks were given the right to study and listen to the radio in their own languages for the first time.

After the April Revolution, especially beginning in 1980, more than 1,500 young men and girls of the Afghan people began to acquire an education in a number of universities in our country.

In his speech at the XXVI Congress of the CPSU, which placed a high value on the fraternal, selfless help of the Soviet people, Comrade Babrak Karmal said: "The years and centuries will pass and the Afghan people will build a new and just society. But it will be thanks to the people of the Soviet Union who will always be its elder brother and true friend."

"Imperialism," said Comrade L.I. Brezhnev in the speech he made at the XXVI Congress of the CPSU, "started an undeclared but real war against the Afghan Revolution. This created risk and danger directly on our southern borders. Such a situation compelled us to offer our military aid to the friendly country. The plans of Afghanistan's enemies turned out otherwise."

The peoples of the USSR view the development of the April Revolution united in mind and feelings, and wish the party and government of the People's Republic of Afghanistan and the Afghan people great successes on its new path.

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INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET WORKS ON IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN THIRD WORLD REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Har 81 (signed to press 26 Feb 81) pp 6-9

Article by A. Gordon, candidate of historical sciences: "Soviet Orientalists on Problems of Ideological Struggle"7

/Text/ Problems of ideological struggle at the present stage of the national liberation movement of the nations of Asia and Africa attract great attention among Soviet scientists. The content of this constantly developing struggle changes gradually in accordance with the change in the nature of the national liberation movement itself. "In practice, the struggle for national liberation," said L. I. Brezhnev, "in many countries has begun to develop into a struggle against relations of exploitation, both feudal and capitalist." The conclusion on the intensification of the social nature of the present national liberation movement drawn at the 24th CPSU Congress and confirmed in the materials of the 25th party congress also has the most direct bearing on the ideological sphere.

"It is impossible to understand the essence and direction of the ideological confrontation now existing in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America," writes K. N. Brutents, "without taking into account the profound social changes taking place there. Although the struggle against neocolonialism continues to remain an important aspect of this antagonism, the ideological confrontation spreading within liberated countries in connection with the projected or growing class demarcation of society becomes another 'profound' aspect of the struggle for independence, which acquires ever greater importance." Class polarization and along with it ideological antagonism are especially pronounced in the struggle for the choice of the path of social and economic reforms of postcolonial societies. The most diverse concepts, views and ideological systems are encountered in the substantiation of a specific variant of social development. Among them there are apologias of "modernization" and traditionalism, as well as bourgeois theories of development and scientific socialism.

The demarcation of class forces within liberated countries is also reflected in the international arena. The nature of ideological struggle in states of socialist orientation³ and in countries where capitalist relations develop (in the latter the level of economic development, the form of state organization and the positions of ruling circles have a great effect on the course and nature of ideological struggle) has its own characteristics. All this, stresses K. N. Brutents,

make. "the national liberation movement as an integral phenomenon highly complex and internally contradictory and developing countries, increasingly multifaceted. Nevertheless, against the background of the life of this region there are very many important commen features..., which, obviously, should form the basis for any generalizing investigation of the problem of developing countries, particularly if it is a question of ideological problems, where common elements are especially noticeable and their detection is especially important."

The reflection of national problems, that is, problems whose solution is demanded by the interests of various classes and strata and of the majority of the population of these countries and by the objective interests of their independent development, in various ideological trends of individual countries creates primarily such a basis for the ideology of the national liberation movement at the present stage of development of liberated countries in Asia and Africa. The urgent need for national consolidation, economic growth and cultural revolution largely determines the social life of young states and, in particular, leads to the fact that their so-called official ideology expresses not only the views and interests of tuling circles, but, to one degree or another, the positions of other political groups and class forces as well. Using various terms—"ideology of development," "national ideology," "state nationalism" and "nationalist etatism," many authors write about this ideological characteristic of liberated countries.

During the period under review an in-depth disclosure of the ideological diversity of the present national liberation movement and of its integrity were made in parallel, often mutually supplementing each other in the same works. For example, L. R. Polomskaya and A. Kh. Vafa, who devoted their investigation to the systematization of the varieties of non-Marxist social thought in liberated countries, singling out seven basic ideological tendencies ("semifeudal," two bourgeois and three petty bourgeois tendencies and revolutionary democracy) and stressing their typological difference, at the same time, note that nationalism remains the "ideological nucleus" of non-Marxist social thought of liberated countries in all its varieties.

Nationalism continues to hold a dominant position in the ideological-political life of liberated countries. R. A. Ul'yanovskiy most clearly formulated this view, which is accepted among Soviet scientists—specialists in the ideological problems of the present national liberation movement. "Anti-imperialist nationalism," he writes, "is now the predominant force in former colonial and semicological countries. It represents a natural stage in the political development of nations liberated from colonialism or still fighting for independence. It would be wrong to assume that it is possible to overcome it by advancing slogans and appeals to reject nationalism before liberated nations. It has taken deep roots among the popular masses, especially peasants and intermediary strata, is surrounded by the halo of a prolonged unequal struggle against foreign rule and fuses with religious feelings and beliefs (Islam and Budhism) and with moral values inherited from ancient times and the Middle Ages."

Considering the implantation of nationalism in public consciousness, primarily in the consciousness of the popular masses, one of the most important causes of its stability in liberated countries. Soviet scientists stress the need to take into consideration the characteristics of mass consciousness of the nations of developing countries as an objective reality. "As the events of the 1960's-1970's

convince us constantly," G. F. Kim and L. R. Polonskaya point out, "for the most part, the social and political doctrines that manifest sufficient attention to traditional, including religious and social, institutions and concepts enjoy mass support in Oriental countries. In cases when devotion to traditions, which is an integral part of the social psychology of peasants and other nonproletarian working strata, and national specificity are not taken into consideration to a sufficient degree, political doctrines and programs, including those that contain objective progressive demands many not win mass support, or unexpectedly, at first glance, be deprived of it. "B

R. A. Ul'yanovskiy, using Gandhism as an example, elaborated very thoroughly and clearly the problem of the Marxist attitude toward the traditional legacy in the ideology of the national liberation movement and social consciousness in liberated countries. Criticizing the one-sidedly negative interpretation of Gandhi's views in Soviet literature, he names primarily the "insufficient knowledge of India and its specific conditions and profoundly original national traditions so vividly reflected in Gandhism" as the reason for such one-sidedness. Having absorbed these traditions and interpreted them in his creative work. Gandhi advanced doctrines, which, in turn, became traditional for India. This ideology, perceived by the mass consciousness of the Indian people, became an objective factor, which should be taken into consideration when evaluating the course of ideological struggle in the country. "Neither Gandhi, nor Nehru, any longer can give an answer to many problems of present India. At the same time, a solution of these problems is impossible without taking into consideration the legacy and influence of both Gandhi and Nehru. Both of them became part of the national consciousness, culture and national life in general, "9

The literature of the period under review widely adheres to the idea of the need for a constructive approach to the traditional legacy not only in public consciousness, but in the social existence of liberated countries as well, and soundly raises the problem of the importance of a differentiated attitude toward the traditions preserved in their life. Noting that the use of the traditional legacy is an objective need for democratic forces, B. S. Yerasov stresses that "at the same time, of special importance is the use of the traditions... that promote the development of production (labor) orientation of the masses and intensification of their democratic consciousness." "The alternative to a conservative use of traditions," he writes, "lies, of course, not in unconditionally breaking traditional structures and values. Noncapitalist development in liberated countries signifies a certain continuity of the traditional forms of social organization ... The new collectivism that is being created can absorb some precapitalist forms of solidarity, although it requires a profound reorganization of their content and trend. 10 Soviet scientists note that some customs and beliefs of the nations of Afro-Asian countries consolidate "forms of life, behavior, diet and so forth, which are expedient for them even in our day." II

The aspiration of the nations liberated from colonial oppression for a revival of national languages and for their reconstruction of their past also finds an explanation. Although in both areas the struggle sometimes assumes extremely sharp forms and opens the way for voluntarism, in its basis Soviet scientists see a

positive content--aspiration for national consolidation and strengthening of national self-consciousness. With regard to forms, they are determined by the reaction to colonial oppression, part of which was a suppression of the development of national languages and disparagement of the precolonial history of oppressed nations. The legacy of colonialism lends a special pungency to the problem of the attitude toward traditions and this is most evident in the fates of national culture.

From the very beginning the struggle against the colonialist-racist world outlook occupied a prominent place in the ideology of the national liberation movement. At the present stage of development of liberated countries the struggle for a revival or preservation of the cultural legacy and against neocolonial expansion in all its ideological varieties—from different theories of "modernization" to the "culture of mass consumption"—and the struggle around the cultural legacy between the forces of progress and reaction also represent an important part of the ideological struggle in Asian and African countries, which more and more attracts the attention of Soviet scientists. 12

Opposing an abstract contraposition of the old and the new in the life of liberated countries and both the groundlessly negative attitude toward traditions (on the basis that they represent these countries' "departure to the past" and "yesterday") and their apology (on the basis that only they are "national property"), Soviet orientalists and experts in African affairs in the struggle against the cultural legacy of Afro-Asian countries single out the concepts of synthesis of the traditional and the modern. In this trend Soviet scientists are attracted primarily by the fact that "in principle, not rejecting tradition as a symbol of national uniqueness, the representatives of this trend oppose a one-sided devotion to traditionalism"13 and have a critical attitude toward "modernism," that is, apologetics of everything that is connected with Western culture, at the same time, not rejecting its achievements, which are of worldwide importance. Thus, dissociating themselves from the extremes of both Oriental centrism and the Westernizing movement, the advocates of the concepts of synthesis champion an optimal correlation of the national-specific and the general human in the cultural development of liberated nations.

Of course, the significance of such a trend is not confined only to problems of development of national culture in the narrow sense of this word. For example, it is noted that the critical and, at the same time, constructive approach to the West's achievements characteristic of its advocates contributes to the perception by the popular masses of developing countries of a realistic attitude toward scientific and technical progress. "The platforms based on the principles of 'synthesis,'" write L. R. Polonskaya and A. Kh. Vafa, "can... have a general democratic, antifeudal and anti-imperialist, as well as antimonopolist, content... Even the doctrines that, on the whole, are moderate in their ideological and political orientation and are based on the principles of 'synthesis' and reinterpretation of the traditions of the past, to the extent to which they oppose the dominance of prebourgeois relations, have a relatively progressive trend."

However, the authors continue, there is also a trend, whose representatives try "to create a 'synthesis' of ideologies--socialist and bourgeois--opposing each other and incompatible with each other and to construct a so-called third way

embodied in the concepts of 'mixed economy,' 'national socialism,' 'Moslem socialism' and so forth." Thus, Soviet researchers distinguish between the synthesis of the traditional and the modern, which is considered inevitable and necessary even in the cultural aspect, and the "synthesis of ideologies," which, as R. A. Ul'yanovskiy writes, no one succeeds in creating, because "no one can connect what is nonconnectable, antagonistic and opposite in terms of classes."

This once again shows the validity of the argument about the need to distinguish the form and content in the ideological struggle, which is of great importance where the forces of progress and reaction often resort to traditional methods of influence on people's minds and where the representatives of the most different political groupings often use the same religious banners. This was especially clearly manifested in the mass use of religion and traditionalization of social and, primarily, political life in a number of countries in the Orient, mainly Moslem.

Evaluating this outbreak of traditionalism, Soviet scientists pay attention to long-term factors in religious influence on the ideological-political life and social development of Afro-Asian countries. The point is that in many former colonies and semicolonies of the Orient religion was the most important symbol of past independence and, therefore, with the beginning of the national liberation struggle became an important means of mobilizing the masses. Social reasons are added to historical ones: incompletion of the process of class formation, a high proportion of prebourgeois structures and characteristics of mass consciousness of the social strata connected with these structures.

Under such conditions the process of weakening of religious influence, which is a historical tendency in the development of the social consciousness and social life of liberated countries, cannot but be of a contradictory nature. On the one hand, religion ceases to be an all-embracing ideological force. The economy gets out from under its control and the state law system stands apart. On the other hand, religious influence in mass consciousness and ideology and in the people's way of life is quite stable. It is here primarily that movements develop in the opposite direction. In a number of cases religious motives in official ideologies are intensified and religious principles of morality and education are affirmed. Religion penetrates into politics, becoming the banner and basis for the involvement of wide strata of the population in active political work. 16

Soviet orientalists consider the policy of an accelerated "modernization" pursued by ruling regimes the direct prerequisite for traditionalization in these types of countries. For the wide strata of the population modernization becomes an uncompensated destruction of traditional institutions and social relations, thereby creating the ground for antisecularization processes. In such an atmosphere the reaction, as well as democratic forces, can come out in defense of traditions under religious banners.

"On the whole," write L. R. Polonskaya and A. Kh. Vafa, "everywhere in developing countries secularization appears as a progressive process, as an integral part of antifeudal and anti-imperialist reforms. At the same time, with the existing significant religiosity of the masses antifeudal and antibourgeois forces at times

still give religious forms to their political demands. However, the reaction can come forward, upholding the bourgeois way of development from secular positions. Therefore, at the present stage of great importance is the question as to in whose interest the very process of secularization is used."

At the present stage of ideological struggle in liberated countries the answer to the question as to in the interest of which forces religion is used is just as ambiguous.

The works of the period under review by B. G. Gafurov, A. I. Ionova, V. I. Kornev, L. R. Polonskaya, M. T. Stepanyants and others show well the contradictory nature of the struggle under religious banners, including under the banner of Islam. For example, the same tenets of Islam are used by the supporters and opponents of agrarian reforms to substantiate their positions. The appeal to Moslem L. W. against the consolidation of bourgeois relations can be characteristic both of the feudal reaction and antibourgeois democratic forces. The concept of "Moslem property" can be used both to substantiate the nationalization of capital and to sanctify the unshakability of bourgeois property. Reactionary elements repeatedly talk about the sinfulness of socialism, while the representatives of democratic circles defend socialist ideas with the authority of Islam, demonstrating that it contained them from its very outset.

Soviet orientalists have shown that nationalism, which at the early stages of formation of the ideology of the national liberation movement denied various tenets of the religious dogma, now more and more absorbs religious ideas and slogans, thereby strengthening its influence on the masses. The tendency toward the differentiation of nationalism at the present stage of the national liberation movement is connected even more directly with the mass base. Different authors state that the diversity of modern nationalism in liberated countries, including the diversity of its class nature, cannot be reduced to the concept of "bourgeois nationalism." Moreover, often it is stressed that the importance of bourgeois nationalism proper in the present ideological-political life of Afro-Asian countries is declining.

"Other forces now seize the banner of nationalism and religion from the bourgeoisie," 19 writes G. I. Mirskiy. Some works specify the class nature of these forces. "The new correlation of the national and the social in the modern social and political thought of developing countries," G. F. Kim and L. R. Polonskaya point out, "is manifested primarily in the fact that not so much bourgeois nationalism as nationalist ideo ogical trends reflecting the refraction of national self-consciousness through the prism of interests of petty bourgeoisie and other nonproletarian (labor-A. G.) social strata are widespread." 20

Influencing the consciousness of nonbourgeois strata and blocking to some extent the formation of class consciousness in them, in turn nationalism evolves under the influence of the views, sentiments and interests of this democratic force. Such an influence is expressed not only in the integration of nationalism with religion explained by mass religiosity, but also in its combination with socialism and in the popularity of so-called national (and religious) "socialisms," which exists and has even increased in a number of liberated countries. Soviet orientalists and specialists in African affairs connect the formation of such a distinctive ideological phenomenon primarily with the objective need for a synthesis of the traditional and the modern. Owing to the incompletion of the processes of class formation, in particular the lack of development of class consciousness in the basic strata of postcolonial society, the same ideological forms in

liberated countries can express a different class content and the interests of strata having different and even directly opposite directions in their class formation.

With regard to such a specific and, at the same time, typical variety of "national socialisms" as "religious socialisms," which has become especially widespread recently, in his latest work 21 B. G. Gafurov rightly recalled the timeliness of Lenin's instruction: "The statement 'socialism is religion' for some is a form of transition from religion to socialism and for others, from socialism to religion." 22 In this contradictory ideological phenomenon Soviet scientists detect both "basically demagogical intentions to make up for the crisis of religious-nationalist programs with socialist ideology" and "a natural aspiration for socialism on the part of the believing masses of workers." 23

Characterizing the place of "national socialisms" in ideological struggle at the present stage of the national liberation movement, Soviet science stresses their complexity, adoption "from various, at times even incompatible, ideological sources and the fact that on the theoretical plane such concepts represent a departure from scientific socialism, "a transformation and a more or less significant—depending on the political positions of the advocates of these concepts—distortion" of its principles. 24

At the same time, in the opinion of Soviet scientists, the appearance and popularization of "national socialisms" also signifies a certain "regression" of nationalism, which, as K. N. Brutents notes, no longer "acts quite independently, but dwells under the roof of "socialist theories" and "the ideas borrowed from the nationalist arsenal are subordinated to a greater or lesser extent... to the needs of these theories."25

The "regression" of religion, evolution of the religious dogma and its adaptation under the effect of attractiveness of socialist ideas among the popular masses is noted in exactly the same way in "religious socialisms." Finally, the popularization of both religious and national "socialisms" is significant as a reflection of the crisis of bourgeois ideals and an expression of the protest of wide strata of the population of liberated countries against capitalist development and against the practical realization of the bourgeois theories of modernization.

In the historical overcoming of nationalism and creation of the prerequisites for the triumph of the ideas of socialism Soviet scientists attach decisive importance to the growth of the working class of developing countries and formation of its class consciousness. An increased influence of the national proletariat of these countries on peasants and other democratic strata and on the social life of all liberated countries as a whole is connected with the attainment by this proletariat of class maturity. The period under review is marked by definite success along this path. Despite failures and regressions in some countries socialist orientation as the tendency of development of liberated countries has been strengthened. The positions of international socialism in the world arena have been consolidated. All this enables Soviet orientalists and specialists in African affairs to optimistically evaluate the prospects for the struggle of ideas in the present development of liberated countries.

FOOTNOTES

- "Materialy XXIV S'yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 24th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1971, p 18; "Materialy XXV S'yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 12.
- 2. "Bor'ba Idey v Sovremennom Mire" /Struggle of Ideas in the Modern World7, Vol 3, Moscow, 1978, pp 12-13.
- 3. A number of works by Soviet authors was devoted to an analysis of these characteristics during the period under review. See, for example, A. V. Kiva, "Strany Sotsialisticheskoy Oriventatsii. Osnovnyye Tendentsii Razvitiya" /Countries of Socialist Orientation. Basic Tendencies of Development/, Moscow, 1978; N. D. Kosukhin, "Formirovaniye Ideyno-Politicheskoy Strategii v Afrikanskikh Stranakh Sotsialisticheskoy Oriventatsii" /Formation of Ideological-Political Strategy in African Countries of Socialist Orientation/, Moscow, 1980; G. B. Starushenko, "Sotsialisticheskaya Oriventatsiya v Razvivayushchikhsya Stranakh" /Socialist Orientation in Developing Countries/, Moscow, 1977 and others.
- 4. "Bor'ba Idey v Sovremennom Mire," Vol 3, p 14.
- 5. See: "Bor'ba Idey v Sovremennom Mire," Vol 3, p 147; "XXV S'yezd KPSS i Problemy Ideologicheskoy Bor'by v Stranakh Azii i Afriki" /The 25th CPSU Congress and Problems of Ideological Struggle in Asian and African Countries/, Moscow, 1979, p 42; N. S. Illarionov, "Ideologiya i Obshchestvennyy Progress v Stranakh Tropicheskoy Afriki" /Ideology and Social Progress in Countries of Tropical Africa/, Moscow, 1978, pp 31-44; "Sovremennyy Natsionalizm i Obshchestvennoye Razvitiye Zarubezhnogo Vostoka" /Modern Nationalism and Social Development of the Foreign East/, Moscow, 1978, pp 182-194 and others.
- "XXV S'yezd KPSS i Problemy Ideologicheskoy Bor'by v Stranakh Azii i Afriki," pp 28-29.
- 7. R. A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Sovremennyye Problemy Azii i Afriki" /Present Problems in Asia and Africa/, Moscow, 1978, p 79.
- "Sovremennyy Natsionalizm i Obshchestvennoye Razvitiye Zarubezhnogo Vostoka," p 307.
- 9. R. A. III 'yanovskiy, "Politicheskiye Portrety Bortsov za Natsional 'nuyu Nezavisimost'" /Political Portraits of Fighters for National Independence/, Moscow, 1980, pp 52, 45.
- 10. "Bor'ba Idey v Sovremennom Mire," Vol 3, pp 200, 241-242.
- 11. Ibid, p 116.
- See: "Bor'ba Idey v Sovremennom Mire," Vol 3, pp 98-131, 189-203, 244-258;
 V. I. Maksimenko, "Intelligentsiya v Stranakh Magriba" / Intelligentsia in the Countries of Magrib/, Moscow, 1980, pp 98-137; "Mesto Religiy v Ideyno-

Politicheskoy Bor'be Razvivayushchikhsya Stran" /Place of Religion in Ideolog-ical-Political Struggle of Developing Countries/, Moscow, 1978, pp 145-182; "Natsional'naya Intelligentsiya Razvivayushchikhsya Stran Azii i Afriki" /National Intelligentsia of Developing Countries of Asia and Africa/, Moscow, 1978, pp 118-135; "Sovremennyy Natsionalizm i Obshchestvennoye Razvitiye Zarubezhnogo Vostoka," pp 195-239.

- "Sovremennyy Natsionalizm i Obshchestvennoye Razvitiye Zarubezhnogo Vostoka," p 35.
- 14. "Sovremennyy Natsionalizm Dbshchestvennoye Razvitiye Zarubezhnogo Vostoka," pp 233, 235.
- R. A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Politicheskiye Portrety Bortsov za Natsional'nuyu Nezavisimost'," pp 89-90.
- "Religion in Countries of Asia and Africa," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1980, No 1, pp 40-42.
- 17. "Mesto Religiy v Ideyno-Politicheskoye Bor'be Razvivayushchikhsya Stran," pp 21-22.
- 18. "Bor'ba Idey v Sovremennom Mire," Vol 3, pp 259-280; V. G. Gafurov, "Aktual'-nyye Problemy Sovremennogo Natsional'no-Osvoboditel'nogo Dvizheniya" /Urgent Problems of the Modern National Liberation Movement/, Moscow, 1979, pp 185-196; "Sovremennyy Natsionalizm 1 Obshchestvennoye Razvitiye Zarubezhnogo Vostoka," pp 240-282.
- 19. "Bor'ba Idey v Sovremennom Mire," Vol 3, p 144.
- "Sovremennyy Natsionalizm i Obshchestvennoye Razvitiye Zarubezhnogo Vostoka," pp 300-301.
- 21. B. G. Gafurov, "Aktual'nyye Problemy Sovremennogo Natsional'no-Osvoboditel'nogo Dvizheniya," p 186.
- 22. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch" Vol 17, p 423.
- 23. "Strukturnyye Sdvigi v Ekonomike i Evolyutsiya Politicheskikh Sistem v Stranakh Azii i Afriki v 70-ye Gody" /Structural Shifts in Economy and Evolution of Political Systems in Countries of Asia and Africa in the 1970's 7, Moscow, 1979, p 130.
- 24. See: "Bor'ba Idey v Sovremennom Mire," Vol 3, p 40.
- 25. "Bor'ba Idey v Sovremennom Mire," Vol 3, p 41.
- COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1981. Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka".

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CSO: 1807/111

NATIONAL

LENINGRAD PAPER DESCRIBES ATTEMPTED SMUGGLING OPERATIONS

LD111407 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 May 81 p 3

[V. Tarasenko report pegged to border guards day: "Closest Border"]

[Excerpt] For the servicemen operating the "Leningrad" separate border check point, the border is not only at Pulkovo Airport but also at the commercial port and at the quayside of Gavan's Morskoy station where the ocean-going ships are moored. Border control is carried out here by the subunits of Lt Col K. Varoul and Maj I. Yanovich.

The capitalist states' intelligence services have never laid down their arms against us. This can be seen particularly clearly in the combat glory rooms where the exhibition displays recount the unit's history stretching back almost 60 years. In their time its servicemen have detained inveterate U.S. and British spies and found a large batch of contraband on Turkish and French ships. During the war years the border guards fought the fascist invaders fearlessly, participated in breaching and lifting the blockade and combated spies, saboteurs and traitors to the motherland in the frontline area. The soldiers of the "Leningrad" border control post the "Road of Life" protected [railroad laid on frozen Ladozhskoye Lake to supply besieged Leningrad]. But for the border guards the war did not end with the final shot....

A motor ship from a capitalist country once arrived to take on a cargo at the Leningrad commercial port. Snr Lt V. Lukyanov and Warrant Officer G. Novokreshchennykh thought it suspicious that the sailors cleaning the deck were diligently avoiding the sealed entrances to the hold. They decided to inspect the cargo, some 5,220 rifles, 7,065 rifle barrels and 3,922 magazines of cartridges of Soviet make were removed from the hold. As it then emerged, the weapons had ended up abroad from a store seized by the Hitlerites on our territory. And now, many years after the war, the enemy had organized a provocation. The plan was that from Leningrad the ship would go to a port across the ocean where these rifles would be "discovered" by the customs and the bourgeois press would raise a fuss "over a communist conspiracy." Thanks to the border guards' vigilance, the enemy did not succeed in carrying out their insidious plan.

And at present certain circles in the West who do not take kindly to the USSR's tremendous successes and growing international prestige, are furiously fanning up the threadbare old myth of "the Soviet military threat." At the same time, they themselves are stepping up ideological subversion, making wide use of international tourism for this. A U.S. newspaper has frankly admitted that "the United States has discovered a new intercontinental weapon: the American tourist." And here are the facts.

An American student (Mills Rodzher) came to our country on the motorship "Mikhail Kalinin." But it was not the masterpieces of the hermitage or the Russiam museum which drew him to our city. In his cabin he had brought with him 2,712 items of religious literature. Of course, (Rodzher)'s acquaintance with Leningrad had to be interrupted. Another of his compatriots had anti-Soviet literature with him, too. Not only was he himself taking it off the ship, he had also enlisted his 10-year-old son in this occupation totally unsuited to a child.

A tourist called Jan (KP), who had come to Leningrad from Amsterdam, had hidden films and color slides containing religious texts inside sweet boxes, wine bottles and in his concealed vest. But I. Ladushkin, senior officer of the border detail, nevertheless found this "baggage" and its owner was expelled of the USSR.

CSO: 1800/487

REGIONAL

POLYAKOV ADDRESSES SESSION OF BSSR SUPREME SOVIET

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 22 May 81 pp 2-3

[Report on speech by I. Ye. Polyakov, chairman of the Presidium ov the BSSR Supreme Soviet at the third session of the 10th Convocation of the BSSR Supreme Soviet]

[Excerpts] The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet pointed out in its decree that the soviets of people's deputies and their executive and management agencies should take full advantage of the authority granted to them by the Constitution in order to provide for comprehensive economic and social development in the corresponding territories, including production efficiency, a stronger system of economy, increased state and labor discipline, and fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the Soviet people.

The soviets have recently acquired greater opportunities to do this. Even since the congress, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted the decree "On Further Increasing the Role of the Soviets of People's Deputies in Economic Construction." This act expanded their functions for coordination and control. Colast, rayon and city soviets have been given more rights in drawing up plans for socio-economic development on their territories regarding issues of farming, protection of nature, construction, utilization of labor resources, production of consumer goods, and cultural, domestic and other services for the population. Associations and enterprises whose products go to satisfy local demands will be transferred to them. Other measures have also been envisioned, which will make it possible for the soviet. to have more influence on the operation of associations, enterprises and organizations and to create better conditions for the labor and life of the people.

At recent sessions soviets of the republic -- from rural to oblast -- outlined concrete measures for implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Now their efforts are concentrated on transforming their increased material, legal and organizational capabilities into real actions, and providing for successful fulfillment of the plans of this year and the Eleventh Five-Year Plan as a whole.

The tasks for communist construction set forth by the congress place great obligations on all state and economic agencies, social organizations and all workers of the city and the country. Our personnel, each individual, regardless of where he works or what position he holds, must have an acute sense of responsibility for the fate of the matters entrusted to him, a high conscientious discipline and initiative. We must work better, more productively, manage more efficiently, and fulfill state plans and socialist commitments in all of their aspects.

It is with increased socialist commitments and more production achievements that workers of the republic are responding to the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSE Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee, "On All-Union Socialist Competition for Successful Fulfillment and Overfulfillment of the Assignments of the Eleventh Pive-Year Plan." Industrial workers have completed the 4-month assignment for the sale of products and the output of the majority of the most important items shead of schedule. The assignment for increasing labor productivity was fulfilled. Almost 120 million rubles' worth of products were produced in excess of the plan, including 49.7 million rubles' worth of consumer goods.

The pace of construction work is increasing during the five-year plan. The republic overfulfilled the 4-month plan for state capital investments and construction and installation work.

Agricultural workers conducted spring planting basically in an organized way and on a high agrotechnical level. Public animal husbandry withstood the winter period fairly well even though there was a marked shortage of feeds. It was possible not only to preserve, but also to increase somewhat the number of head of horned cattle, hogs and poultry.

But the party teaches us to concentrate attention on unsolved problems. The 26th CPSU Congress provided an example of this kind of businesslike, critical, but still constructive analysis. And if we evaluate the way we began the five-year plan from the standpoint of high party demandingness, we must say frankly that the results could have been much more appreciable. The results of the 4 months show that not all associations and enterprises are working at a pace that will provide for the fulfillment of the annual plan and socialist commitments. Labor productivity is increasing slowly and production capacities are not being fully utilized. Many poor-quality products are still being produced and the system of economy is being seriously violated. The construction of a number of facilities in a number of industry in the social sphere is proceeding unsatisfactorily. Plans for procurements of milk, livestock and poultry were not fulfilled.

The shortcomings and blunders that were found at the very beginning of the new five-year plan were analyzed in detail in the report of candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, Comrade T. Ya. Riselev at the plenum of the Communist Party of Belorussia that took place in April. The organizational and political measures that were approved by the plenum for implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress place great reponsibilities on soviet agencies of the republic as well. The main requirement — and it ensues directly from the decisions of the 26th Party Congress — consists in making sure that the soviets conduct organizational work more persistently and increase control over the fulfillment of planned assignments. The state plan is the law, and laws must be obeyed.

All instructs to the plan that cover up inability to conduct business and cause harm to the national economy are inadmissible.

One cannot say that the soviet agencies of the republic have not attached the proper importance to questions of control and executive discipline. A great deal of attention is devoted to them. Take for example the Supreme Soviet. It is precisely from the standpoint of fulfillment of party directives that it considers the plan for economic and social development and also the annual budgets. At its sessions it discussed in a demanding way the tasks of soviets of the republic for implementing the decisions of the 26th Congress and the plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the work with orders from the electorate, new draft laws and other issues. At the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the current convocation they considered problems of land reclamation, which are very important for further development of the republic's agriculture.

Permanent commissions of the Supreme Soviet exercise regular control over the activity of republic and local state agencies. Thus after local inspections involving the broad aktiv, the permanent commissions under the current five-year plan have heard reports regarding various issues from the ministries of local, light, and the food industry, housing and municipal services, forestry and a number of ispolkoms of oblast, rayon and city soviets. Many recommendations made by the permanent commissions were discussed, and they resulted in the adoption of decisions by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the republic government.

Questions of economic and social development are constantly within the field of vision of the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet. Its work practice always involves discussion of reports from ministries and departments and local soviet agencies concerning the fulfillment of plans, the utilization of labor resources, the observance of laws and the strengthening of state and labor discipline.

In providing leadership for local soviets, the Presidium directs them primarily toward increasing responsibility for the fulfillment of plans for economic and social development. And one must say that many of them are acting in this area with real energy and initiative.

People's control plays an important role in carrying out the tasks of the five-year plan. Much is being done through the efforts of our people's patrol members to improve the operation of enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, institutions and organizations, and to reveal and put into operation reserves for production, strengthening state discipline, and preventing and eliminating poor management, preferential treatment and other similar phenomena.

The 26th Party Congress gave the people's controllers the following instruction: to act more energetically and to act more aggressively. Not a single violation, not a single case of abuse, extravagance or bad discipline should escape their efficient gaze.

The soviets which form the people's control agencies are called upon to help them more and rely on them more strongly. We have experience in this kind of friendly joint work. At one of its meetings the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet noted the good interaction between the deputy commissions and the people's control posts in lv'yevskiy Rayon. Useful business ties have been established between the permanent commissions and the people's control agencies in Vitebskaya Oblast. Last year they held 234 joint inspections. And even though the overall number of inspections

decreased, the control was more wide-ranging and deeper, and it produced more results. This kind of practice should be extended to all places.

Control produces very little if it is not reinforced with organizational work and does not elimintate the causes of the shortcomings. Unfortunately we have still not managed to arrange things this way everywhere. This is explained to a certain degree by the fact that each year a considerable number of enterprises fail to fulfill assignments for product sales and increased labor productivity. There is an especially large number of such enterprises in the ministries of industrial and rural construction and the meat and dairy industry.

The causes of the arrears in these as well as in several other branches were discussed in detail at the 29th Congress of the BSSR Communist Party and at the second plenum of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Belorussia, and therefore I shall not discuss them. We are now speaking about what can and should be undertaken by the soviets and their agencies in order to bring the backward enterprises and organizations out of the hole and arrange efficient and rhythmic operation.

I have already discussed the importance of control, strict observance of planning discipline and increased demands on personnel. This is one side of the matter. But there is another one which is no less important. I have in mind the creation of the necessary conditions for more productive labor on the part of the people. The role of the soviets is especially great here.

It is known, for example, that one of the reasons for the inadequate growth rates of labor productivity is the large losses of working time. Under the Tenth Pive-Year Plan in the republic's industry alone it exceeded 5 million man-days, as a result of which we failed to produce almost 500 million rubles' worth of products. About half of these losses came from absences from work with the permission of the administration. It is necessary to send people to the polyclinic, the housing combine and other institutions of the sphere of service. They ask for time off from work in order to wait for the electrician, the television repairman, the sanitary technician or the gas man. It is the direct responsibility of the soviets to arrange their work in the interests of convenience for the population. Quite a few decisions have been adopted regarding this, but they are not always translated into action. Is it not time to follow the advice of the famous fairytale writer and not waste words in places where it is necessary to use force?

Among the conditions that are to provide for further increased efficiency of the national economy, the party attaches special significance to careful, thrifty utilization of the public wealth. The economy must be economical — this is the demand made by the 26th CPSU Congress. But we still allow considerable losses of raw material, fuel, thermal and electric energy, and products of the fields and farms. To crush extravagance is the primary responsibility of the soviets, their ispolkoms, people's control and all state and economic agencies. The achievement of the greatest final result with the least labor, material and financial expenditures should become the law of our economic practice.

the saviets must make persistent organizational efforts in order to provide for an essential expansion of production and improvement of the quality of consumer goods.

Under the current five-year plan the republic's light industry must increase the volume of output of products by 18 percent. The goods for everyday cultural and household use must increase 1.4-fold.

Enterprises of all profiles are being enlisted in the production of products that are in mass demand, including enterprises of union jurisdiction for which these are not the main kinds of products. More than 130 heavy industry enterprises are now annually producing almost 1 billion rubles' worth of items for the market. True, at certain enterprises of this group, as was discussed at the 29th Congress of the Communist Party of Belorussia, the proportion of consumer goods is not high and their capabilities are not being utilized adequately. The republic commission created under the Council of Ministers for control over production and delivery of consumer goods to the market and also commissions in the oblast and the city of Minsk must take the necessary measures to deal with this.

Certain local soviet. Lairly thoughtfully and, I would say, with praiseworthy persistence search out reserves for increasing the output of consumer goods. One can include among them the soviets of the city of Gomel. They deal in a skilled way with problems of planning, the assortment and the quality of products that are in mass demand, and they show a businesslike concern for efficient utilization of production capacities, raw materials and other resources.

But this is not the case everywhere, the speaker emphasized. There are still quite a few soviets that provide poor coordination of the activity of enterprises and organizations under the jurisdiction of various departments for producing consumer goods. It is necessary for all soviet agencies to take complete advantage of the rights granted to them for controlling this sphere of production. Our ministries -- of the light, local, timber and wood processing industries and others -- and also the soviets must engage more actively in the search for reserves for increasing production and improving the quality of goods that are in mass demand.

At the same time it is necessary to decisively improve trade. It must carefully study consumer demand, be more exacting of supply enterprises, and maneuver labor resources skillfully. As usual, there are many complaints, most of them justified, about shortcomings in the work of trade organizations. It is necessary to put an end to holding back items at the bases and store warehouse, trading "by acquaintance," speculation, the so-called "discarding" the shortage at the end of the month, and other violations of the rules of Soviet trade.

As everyone recalls, this was discussed at the 26th Party Congress. Local soviets, trade agencies, administrative agencies and the public have something to work on here. Deputies and people's controllers must have a keener eye. It is necessary to carefully select personnel for trade and public catering enterprises and to increase their qualifications and education. There is no place here for people with doubtful reputations and sticky fingers.

In the current stage our party attaches special importance to the development and implementation of the food program. As was noted at the 26th Congress, its goal is to solve the problem of continuously supplying the population with products in the shortest possible period of time. It will be necessary first of all to increase the production of those kinds of agricultural products whose shortage

causes the most appreciable interruptions in supply. This pertains especially to meat and milk. The shock front in the rural areas -- this is the way Comrade L. I. Bruzhnev defined the significance of increasing animal husbandry.

This task is of primary importance for Belorussian agriculture, which specializes in meat and dairy products. During the years of the five-year plan we must increase the production of meat by approximately one-third and of milk, by 18-21 percent. If one takes into account that in preceding years there have been serious difficulties because of the great shortage of feeds, which has led to a reduction of the productivity of the livestock, it is clear that sustained effort will be necessary in order to reach the new goals.

Five years, comrades, is only 60 months, and more than 4 of them have already gone by. Yet, as one can see from the results in animal husbandry in January-April, a change is still not in view. The average daily weight gain of large horned cattle and hogs that are being raised and fattened remains low. As usual, the animals with less weight are sent for slaughter, and many thousands of tons of meat are lost because of this.

At a recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia they named the oblasts and rayons with the greatest arrears. This criticism pertains directly and immediately to soviet and agricultural agencies, but they have not yet drawn the proper conclusions from them. In agriculture more than anywhere else one must not waste time, and it is very difficult to make up for it.

With the transfer of the livestock to summer maintenance it will be necessary to take immediate measures in order, in the first place, to utilize green fodder and grazing land more efficiently in order to increase the productivity of the dairy herd and animals that are being fattened and, in the second place, to create a maximum supply of feeds for the stabling period. There are many farms and entire rayons in the republic where valuable experience in feed production has been accumulated. They are widely known because of the republic seminar on agriculture that was conducted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, and this experience must be rapidly introduced everywhere. Much here depends on the initiative of ispolkoms of oblast, rayon and rural soviets and on the work efficiency of agricultural agencies as well as their increased responsibility.

Along with strengthening the feed base, we must persistently achieve an increase in the density of the livestock, especially cows. This is the only way we will be able to cope successfully with the tasks in the area of animal husbandry.

There is a great reserve for increasing the production of milk and meat in the private subsidiary farms of the kolkhoz workers, sovkhoz workers and employees. As an example of how to combine the interests of public and private farming, 1. Ye. Polyakov named the Zarya Kommunizma Kolkhoz in Ivanovskiy Rayon where the chairman is a deputy to the BSSR Supreme Soviet, I. I. Savenko. On this kolkhoz, for each 100 hectares of agricultural land they keep 133 head of large horned cattle, including 38 cows. Last year each hectare of this area produced 1,146 quintals of milk and 270 quintals of meat. The average milk yield per cow amounted to 3,145 kilograms.

If only all kolkhozes had this density of livestock and this level of production of animal husbandry products! But on the Zarya Kommunisma this is not all there is to it; they are also concerned about the private subsidiary farms of the kolkhoz workers and help them with feed. Therefore in almost every ablebodied person's yard there is a cow, hogs and poultry.

To avoid further reduction of the number of head, especially cows, on the private farms of the citizens and to achieve an increase constitute one of the most important tanks of soviet and agricultural agencies as well as of managers of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

It is also necessary to put other reserves to work. Workers of the Belorussian Consumers' Union have taken up this good cause. They have committed themselves under the current five-year plan to increase more than two-fold the volumes of procurements of surplus agricultural products from the population, and on their private subsidiary farms, to increase the production of meat from 1,900 tons in 1980 to 1°,200 tons in 1985.

The soviets must support in all ways the industrial enterprises that take on the responsibility for creating subsidiary farms. In Mogilev the production associations for silk fabrics imeni XXV S"y zd KPSS and Khimvolokno imeni V. I. Lenin, the metallurgical plant imeni A. F. Maysnikov, the meat combine and other enterprises have begun to organize them actively. Of course problems arise here, for example, with the allotment of plots of land and technical equipment, but these must be solved and they must be solved efficiently, in the interests of improving the food supply for the workers.

In this connection I should like to recall the words of Leonid II'ich Brezhnev, spoken at the 26th Congress: "What we are speaking about -- food products, consumer goods and the sphere of services -- these are problems of the daily life of millions and millions. . . . People judge the way these problems are to be solved from our work. They judge strictly and exactingly. And this, comrades, we must keep in mind."

These words were addressed mainly to the soviets, for the vital concerns of the people are the field of our activity, comrade deputies, the main sphere where our efforts are applied.

The speaker discussed the large amount of work that is being done to carry out the orders of the electorate.

We cannot put up with the fact, continued I. Ye. Polyakov, that in some places discussions of comprehensive solutions to the problems of economic and social development are not supported by actions. It will not do, say, that the BSSR Ministry of Industrial Construction under the past five-year plan failed to assimilate 5,875,000 rubles' worth of capital investments allotted for the construction of consumer service facilities, and the Ministry of Agriculture -- 1.9 million rubles.

Inertia, clumsiness and the inability to utilize existing reserves sometimes lead to the failure to take extremely important measures. In this connection the

speaker discussed the question of the construction of housing in rural areas, assignments which the ministries and departments, the Glaspoles'yevodstroy and the oblispolkoms fail to fulfill from year to year. As a result, rural residents have received 1.5 million square meters of housing less than was planned for the five-year plan.

Unfortunately, many problems of urban housing and municipal services have not been removed from our agends. It is no accident that they take up a large part of the letters and complaints that come to party and soviet agencies, the editorial staffs of newspapers, and television and radio. People are requesting that these problems be resolved more justly and without red tape.

Most frequently the subject is improving housing conditions. It was noted at the 26th Party Congress that in dealing with housing it is necessary to be especially attentive, objective and systematic. But there are workers -- and everyone is well aware of this -- who disregard these requirements. Hence the complaints. Violations of the established rules for distributing housing were revealed in letters from citizens in the Orshanskiy interrayon administration for drainage and irrigation systems, at the Brest electrical mechanics plant, the Kostyukovichskiy automotive stations No 8 and a number of other organizations. It is time that the ispolkoms of the soviets took charge of this matter.

The instruction of the 26th Party Congress concerning the need to take measures to improve the operation of the housing supply and maintain it applies directly to the soviets. We have a good deal of inefficiency in this matter and it involves large outlays. Suffice it to say that in 1980 alone more than 55 million rubles were spent on housing repair in the republic.

Maintenance of departmental housing causes an especially large number of complaints. At one time the union government adopted a decision to transfer it to the local soviets but the decision was implemented, frankly, unsatisfactorily. Up to this point about half of the state housing fund is under the jurisdiction of various enterprises, institutions and organizations of the republic. It is clear that the situation must be rectified. Soviet agencies, guided by the decree regarding this adopted last year by the BSSR Council of Ministers, must display more persistence in combining housing and municipal services, and more resolutely eliminate the departmental obstacles that have been raised along this path.

Serious complaints should be made against a number of ministries, departments and oblispolkoms for failure to carry out state assignments for the startup of medical and children's preschool institutions. Gomel'skaya Oblast was the only one to fulfill the plan of the Tenth Five-Year Plan concerning these facilities.

Through its deputies each soviet has a chance to exert direct influence on the organization and development of socialist competition. It is necessary to give undertakings like the one initiated by the deputies from Pinsk the proper support and broad dissemination.

One should develop the initiative of the deputies in all ways, remembering Lenin's instruction to the effect that they themselves must work; they themselves must

obey their own laws; they themselves must make sure of what actually happens; and they themselves are directly responsible to their voters. Of course it is necessary to learn this, enrich it with experience and create favorable conditions for the execution of the deputies' duties. It has become a practice everywhere to conduct "Days of the Deputy" and seminars regarding questions of soviet construction. It is important for them to take place on a high level and for the knowledge that is obtained to be transformed into concrete acts.

The communist party always has and still does attach immense importance to strengthening ties between the soviets and the population, considering them to be the vital source of soviet power. Our soviets, working in the midst of the masses, are linked to them by thousands of unbreakable threads. One of the forms of these ties is reports to the workers. During last year the republic held more than 35,500 meetings with reports from ispolkoms and their divisions and administrations. They took place, as a rule, in a businesslike way, but there were cases where the reports were of a perfunctory nature. It is necessary to keep in mind that these measures are not necessary for appearance, but to improve the work of the soviet. The obligation of the soviet agencies to systematically inform the population of their activity and the decisions that are made reflects the deep nature of socialist democratism in our country, and it must be realized in the most persistent way.

The large-scale and complex tasks arising from the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the assignments of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan require further improvement of the organizational work of the soviets. We are speaking primarily about further improving the practice of preparing and conducting sessions — that basic form of activity of representative agencies of the soviet authority. In recent years essential problems of economic and socio-cultural construction have been raised more frequently at the meetings and they have been considered, as a rule, profoundly and skillfully. But there are also "gaps." For example, we rarely discuss questions of educating the workers, especially cultural and enlightenment work in the places where the people live. We can hardly consider it normal that certain soviets have for a long time failed to examine the activity of the staffs of ispolkoms and their divisions that are in charge of social security, culture, public education and public health.

The managerial soviet agencies must pay daily attention to the state staffs. As an example of a well-thought-out system of training of soviet personnel, the speakart mentioned the experience of Grodnenskaya Oblast. He also discussed the role of the soviets in educating workers and stepping up the struggle for exemplary public order in each population point.

The 26 CPSU Congress, said I. Ye. Polyakov in conclusion inspired the Soviet people to fight for great new achievements in communist construction and strengthened the belief of the Soviet people and all progressive mankind in the possibility of defending peace and now allowing a nuclear catastrophe. "Defending peace -- on the international plane there is no more important task for our party, our people and for all peoples of the planet," -- this was spoken from the podium of the 26th CPSU Congress.

In light of this it becomes especially important for the Communist Party and the Soviet State to act creatively for the all-around development of the socialist

economy and the strengthening of the defense might of the Soviet homeland. Allow me to express my firm conviction that the workers of Belorussia, like all Soviet people, will make a worthy contribution to the cause of communist construction and to the realization of all the intentions of the historic 26th CPSU Congress.

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BSSR SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATES DISCUSS MAJOR ISSUES FACING REPUBLIC

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 23 May 81 p 3

[Article: "On Tasks of Soviets of People's Deputies of the Republic in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress"]

[Excerpts] When discussing the tasks of the republic soviet of people's deputies in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the elected delegates expressed their firm confidence that the workers of Belorussia, like all Soviet people, will make a worthy contribution to the implementation of the socio-economic program of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. They emphasized that a successful solution to the complex and diverse tasks involved in the work of the soviets requires a spirit of high exactingness and efficiency which must pervade all the activity of the soviet agencies.

The chairman of the Brestskaya Oblispolkom, K. V. Matyushevskiy, noted that the soviets of people's deputies of the oblast in their sessions have given detailed consideration to the tasks ensuing from the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and have earmarked and are implementing concrete measures for carrying them out.

There are already visible fruits of this: industrial workers have overfulfilled their plans for 4 months for the production and sale of products and increasing labor productivity. More consumer goods have been produced than were earmarked.

Further interaction between local soviet and higher branch agencies is very important in drawing up the plans for economic and social development. Thus joint decisions of the oblispolkom and the ministries of industrial and agricultural construction as well as Belmezhkolkhozstroy for strengthening the production base of oblast construction organizations under their jurisdiction have produced appreciable results.

We have great costs of money and morale because there are still frequent cases where individual ministries and departments give enterprises and organizations production plans which are far from balanced and are not reinforced with material resources. This inevitably leads to interruptions in production assignments in the established assortments and places labor collectives and other workers involved with them in a difficult position.

Evaluating the activity of the oblast soviets from the standpoint of the high demands of the party congress, the speaker noted, we also see other essential short-comings in their work, and we are trying to eliminate them more rapidly and provide for maintaining the activity of the people's authority agencies on a level that is equal to modern tasks.

Giving a positive evaluation to what has been achieved, the republic minister of local industry, L. V. Rusakov, said in his speech that we must be seriously concerned about the fact that not all reserves and possibilities of improving the work of the branch have been put into action. There are still a whole number of unsolved problems. For example, we have still not succeeded in raising executive discipline to the proper level. Herein lies one of the important reasons for the failure to fulfill the production plan for consumer goods from a number of standpoints. Problems of technical progress and improvement of product quality are not being resolved actively everywhere.

Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan the production volume in the republic's local industry will increase by 26 percent and that of consumer goods, by 40 percent. It will be necessary to considerably increase the output of products from local raw material sources. This is a very difficult task. At the present time the ministry has developed drafts of comprehensive programs for the five-year plan with respect to many of the most important areas of our work, which are all subordinated to a single goal: to provide for the complete filling of orders from trade for consumer goods.

But still, the minister emphasized, the problem of increasing the output of consumer goods requires further study. In any event the production of these goods should be based on a long-term scientifically substantiated program and not just on a current assessment of the demand.

The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out the need to raise the level of national economic planning, the speaker noted. But in practice one sometimes encounters cases where certain ministries and departments of the republic, bypassing the oblispolkom, make adjustments to the plans for organizations under their jurisdiction. Sometimes the planned production volumes are not supported by material and technical supplies.

Supporting the style of work which organically combines executive ability and discipline with bold initiative and enterprise, the soviets of people's deputies of the Grodno area and their ispolkoms are taking all measures to provide for rhythmic, highly efficient work on the part of all labor collectives for implementing the historic decisions of the 26th Party Congress.

The secretary of the Belorussian trade union council, A. P. Obukhovich, noted: all key issues related to the organization of socialist competition, the strengthening of labor discipline, the improvement of the conditions for the labor and life of the people are being resolved by state and economic agencies in conjunction with or with the agreement of the trade unions. A justified practice has developed whereby the state and trade union agencies develop plans for joint measures to solve concrete social and educational problems. Systematic enlistment of trade union agencies in the work of permanent commissions of soviets of

people's deputies, including in the work of permanent commissions of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, is very important.

Actively participating in the planning of economic and social development, the trade unions, naturally, also display an immediate interest in the implementation of the earmarked plans. The activity of the permanent production conferences and the scientific and technical creativity of the workers are directed precisely toward this.

But the most widespread and effective form of enlisting workers and employees in the control of production and the struggle for the realization of the earmarked plans is socialist competition. Based on the tasks for economic and social development earmarked by the 26th CPSU Congress, the soviets and trade union committees in conjunction with economic administrative agencies are taking measures to provide for closer interconnection between socialist competition and production planning, to improve the forms and to increase the results of moral and material incentives for efficiency and quality of work.

Reality requires further development of joint activity of the soviets of people's deputies and trade union agencies in the organization of competition, particularly in business cooperation of related enterprises and associations. Therefore, in the opinion of the deputy, it seems necessary to create in the oblasts interbranch councils for coordinating the activity and organizing competition for workers in related occupations.

The soviets of the oblast are devoting a great deal of attention to increasing the production of goods that are in widespread demand, especially at enterprises under union jurisdiction, said I. A. Shibeko, chairman of the Vitebskaya Oblispolkom, in his speech. Various aspects of the solution to this problem are constantly being discussed at meetings of ispolkoms and commissions for control of the production and delivery of consumer goods to trade organizations. During the past five-year plan the oblast produced 146 million rubles' worth of these goods in excess of the plan. And now at enterprises under union jurisdiction alone, during the five-year period their output will increase more than 2-fold, and the total volume will reach 110 million rubbes.

But this does not mean, the speaker said, that the existing possibilities for increasing the production of goods that are in widespread demand at enterprises under union jurisdiction are being fully utilized. At the Novopolotsk oil refinery, for example, they comprise only 0.2 percent of the overall volume of products that are produced, and at the Polimir production association -- 0.3 percent. And yet both of these could increase the production of items that are in great demand several times over.

One of the critical problems in improving the quality and durability of technically complicated items, in the opinion of the deputy, is conducting a unified technical policy and standardizing components and parts. Now in the stores one can find dozens of makes of fittings and equipment of the same kind. The repair services have to store up millions of parts and organize an immense warehouse, and, the main thing, they frequently have to refuse to repair instruments since the demand for spare parts and components is not fully satisfied.

The republic does not actually have a unified administration for the production of consumer goods and services for the population. Because of this the assortment of products that are produced stockpiles, essentially, at random. Existing forms of ties between trade and industry, whereby the enterprises are not actually held responsible for the sale of their own products, do not contribute to satisfying the demand. Ispolkoms of local soviets and their planning commissions must become coordinating centers for increasing the production and fulfilling the plans for the output of goods that are in widespread demand.

Local soviets of Gomel', fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, are now working to provide for proportional development of all branches of the economy and further improvement of the well-being of the workers. This was discussed at the session by the chairman of the ispolkom of the gorsovet, \. A. Bashilov. During the five-year plan the city is to increase the volume of industrial production by 28-30 percent, and labor productivity -- by no less than 24 percent.

Workers and specialists of the Belorussian SSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika, said their representative, B. M. Pozharskiy, see their place in the implementation of the large party tasks for further intensification of agricultural production to be contributing to increasing labor productivity and providing for increased efficiency of the utilization of material resources that are allotted to agriculture.

Critically evaluating what has been achieved and comparing what has been done with the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress, the machine operators, workers and specialists of the state committee have earmarked concrete ways of further improving comprehensive mechanization of agriculture and in all ways increasing the efficiency of the utilization of the machine and tractor fleet of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It will be necessary to do a large amount of work to reinforce the repair and service base, to develop the aggregate method of repair and to organize the refurbishing of parts and components of new makes of high-powered tractors and grain combines. It will also be necessary to carry out a complex of measures for considerably improving the quality of repair and organizing technical servicing of the machine and tractor fleet. The Main Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990 which were adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress envision further strengthening of the production base of animal husbandry. Therefore under the current five-year plan it is intended to create in each rayon of the republic specialized mobile mechanized columns which will handle the assembly, adjustment and technical servicing of equipment on farms that are being constructed and reconstructed.

In carrying out the tasks set by the congress for improving feed production and reducing losses of feed during harvesting, a decisive role will be played by the introduction of industrial technologies. The Goskomsel'khoztekhnika in conjunction with the BSSR Ministry of Agriculture has earmarked and is implementing a program for improving comprehensive mechanization of the procurement and processing of feeds. Harvest and transport detachments for procuring feeds are being created on all kolkhozes and sovkhozes and interfarm detachments are being created in a number of rayons. The training of machine operators for work on self-propelled combines has been organized at training production points of the raysel'khoztekhnika organizations.

We workers of the Azot production association are experiencing the constant concern of the soviets for the development of the chemical industry and increased production of mineral fertilizers, said its director, V. A. Ivanov. With the interested participation and assistance of the soviets, the enterprises have put three large industries into operation and assimilated their capacities ahead of schedule: for ammonia, carbamide and sulfuric acid. As compared to the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the production volume of mineral fertilizers has increased by 2.2 million tons or by more than one-third.

During 5 years the collective has produced and delivered to agricultural workers 415,000 tons of mineral fertilizers in excess of the plan. Above-plan output has been sent to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Belorussia.

The speaker went on to emphasize that the 22 deputies elected to the soviet from the collective of chemists are participating actively in solving the practical problems of production and the socio-economic development of the city and oblast. Their authority and their constant public political activity contribute to stable, smooth and highly productive operation of the enterprise.

The deputies now see as one of their most tasks the further re-armament of production on the basis of the introduction of the achievements of science and technology and the expansion of cooperation with scientific institutions of the country which have produced an economic effect of 8 million rubles during the 5-year period.

At the present time the main attention is concentrated on the organization of waste-free production. In the next few years we shall introduce a technology for complete utilization of wastes and the output of consumer goods and products for agriculture from them.

Grodno nitrogen workers have begun the new five-year plan confidently. The 5-month assignment for the output of mineral fertilizers was fulfilled on 21 May. The socialist commitments for delivering to agricultural workers 30,000 tons of fertilizers in excess of the plan in time for spring field work was also fulfilled ahead of schedule. The city's chemists are striving to make a worthy contribution to the implementation of the immense for the country's economic and social development.

In recent years, in order to retain personnel in rural areas, the party raykom and the ispolkoms of rayon, rural and village soviets of people's deputies have begun to deal more specifically with solving social and domestic problems on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. They are constructing considerably more housing and facilities for social and domestic purposes, and they are improving the working conditions for the farmers. But the comparatively small capacities of these construction organizations impede the solution to this vitally important problem. In order to retain construction personnel it is necessary to solve both problems of housing and problems of the organization of recreation and rewarding use of free time. And we, for example, PMK-120 of the Vitebsksel'stroy Trust, which has been in existence for about 10 years, still do not have a club, a dining room or a kindergarten. The situation is similar for the interkolkhoz mobile mechanized column No 40

The method of construction using one's own labor occupies an important position in the creation of appropriate living conditions for rural workers. During the

years of the past five-year plan we performed 15 percent of all construction and installation work in this way. It is understandable that under the current five-year plan the direct labor method will be used for a considerable proportion of the work. But at the present time there is a tendency to limit this kind of construction. The higher planning agencies do not include many necessary facilities in the plan because of the shortage of construction materials and funds. It is obvious, the deputy noted, that the time has come, in the interests of the common cause, for the Belorussia: SSR Gosplan, the Ministry of Agriculture and the republic Goskomsel'-khoztekhnika association to envision the necessary volume of materials and equipment for construction by the direct labor method in rural areas.

"On the basis of further improvement of the forms and methods of their work," said the chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Volozhinskiy Rayon, M. I. Ulasik, "the local soviets under the leadership of the rayon party organization have achieved marked progress in searching for reserves for increasing economy and labor activity in all areas of the rayon's national economy under the Tenth Pive-Year Plan. The rayon has reconstructed an number of enterprises and shops, installed new technical equipment and considerably improved the skills of the workers."

The deputy discussed problems of creating a stable feed base which provides for planned production of products, rendering assistance to kolkhoz workers in maintaining private farms, and implementing the program for social and cultural-domestic construction. In conclusion, he announced that in the first year of the Eleventh Pive-Year Plan the kolkhoz workers have resolved to struggle to obtain even larger harvests of agricultural crops and considerably increase the production of animal husbandry products.

Public education workers, like all soviet people, said 0. S. Avramenko in conclusion, are devoting their knowledge, experience, energy and efforts to successful realization of the majestic plans of our native Communist Party.

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TURKMENS REORGANIZE HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 19 May 81 p 2

[Interview with S. Orazmanedov, minister of municipal services: "The First Steps of Reorganization"]

[Text] In September 1978 the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the decree "On Measures for Further Improvement of the Operation and Repair of Housing." In particular, it made it incumbent on the country's ministries and departments to develop no later than 1980 a new structure for housing administration which is under the jurisdiction of the ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies. This was done and the restructuring the of the republic branch administrative system was started. The republic minister of municipal services, S. Orazmamedov, discussed this with our correspondent.

[Question] Sanar Mamedovich, we understand that housing is complex in its structure. Which aspects of it were affected by the reorganization? What are its goals and tasks?

[Answer] From year to year, from five-year plan to five-year plan we see the immense scope of our housing construction and how its material and technical base has changed qualitatively and become significantly stronger in recent times. The volume of housing construction on the level of the country, as L. I. Brezhnev said from the podium of the 26th Party Congress, will be just as great in the future.

Because of this we are faced today with large and quite concrete tasks: to considerably improve the quality of service, to improve the maintenance and to extend the service lives of residential buildings. We intend to achieve appreciable results by changing the structure of the administration of several branches of municipal services.

Beginning in January 1981 in Ashkhabad and the oblast centers of the republic — Mary, Chardzhou, Krasnovodsk and Tashauz — on the basis of municipal services divisions of ispolkoms of oblast soviets of people's deputies, oblast associations for the municipal housing fund have been created, and in the city of Ashkhabad a city association has been creating for housing and building up the city. The structure of repair and construction organizations has also changed. The republic repair and construction trust has been abolished and the Ashkhabadskaya Oblast

trust has been created on the basis of it. The same kind of trusts on the local budget have been created under the jurisdiction of the ministry in Mary, Krasnovodsk and Tashaus. As for Chardzhou, this kind of subdivision has been in operation there for several years as an experiment.

Today we can already say that the restructuring of the administrative system has justified itself. In the oblast repair and construction trusts, according to the results of the first quarter, the percentage of fulfillment of the plan both for repair and for construction of residential buildings is considerably higher than last year. It has become possible for them to have closer contact with the lower organizations of the oblast, as a result of which there has been a considerable rise in the level of their management. There has been a marked increase in the responsibility of local executive agencies. In a word, in each of the oblasts it has become possible to create unified large production bases and repair and construction organizations where both material-technical resources and mechanisms will be concentrated.

(Question) The newspaper announced to its readers as early as 1978 that the municipal service workers had prepared for restructuring the administration of residential buildings. Please tell us about it and about whether the rights and responsibilities of the residents have changed as a result of this.

[Answer] First of all I should like to emphasize that under the new structure the housing administration has been reduced by one level. Previously, for example, its structure contained the following levels: building administration -- rayon housing administration -- city housing administration -- ministry (ispolkoms). Now in Ashkhabad, for example, it will appear this way: housing-operations trusts (Sovetskiy, Proletarskiy, Leninskiy rayons) -- city housing association -- ministry (ispolkoms). In Mary, Chardshou, Tashauz and Krasnovodsk the city housing operations trusts have been created under the jurisdiction of the oblast associations for housing and municipal services. Building administrations have been reorganized and have now become production-operations units of the trusts.

I wish to note that the housing-operations trust is the basic unit in the new administrative structure. Material and labor resources will be concentrated in them, which is of no small significance for quality service and current repair of the buildings. Moreover, here are prerequisites for carrying out specialization of jobs for current repair of apartments, maintenance of the building equipment and mechanized cleaning of the area. The associations and trusts will gradually assume functions of planning, material and technical support, the introduction of new equipment and new forms of labor organization, comprehensive mechanization and accounting for repair and construction jobs.

In the process of preparing for the reorganization we studied the practice of several city management services in the country — in places where they have undergone the test of time. In Novosibirsk, where the activity of the trusts is now very efficiently arranged, an order for a repair job of average difficulty which comes from a resident is filled within a half hour. This is done simply. The residents are notified that their applications for repair, say, of the running water line, can be submitted at any time to some particular address. In a particular service apartment lives a worker who handles preventive maintenance and

repair in a given section. He knows his business well and does not spend a lot of time enroute either.

We hope that the ispolkoms of local soviets will render full assistance in this good undertaking.

As for the rights and responsibilities of the residents, they have not changed. They must now direct all their requests and applications to the housing operations sections. I just hope that the apartm it dwellers will find more activity, interest and understanding there.

I can say frankly that we have still not solved many problems. For example, it will be necessary to construct production bases, and the material and technical supply still leaves something to be desired. But we have already made some progress. Three mobile mechanized columns will be organized for construction and repair of capital facilities in rayon centers where there are no contracting organizations. The problem of assigning territories for the future production bases of the associations and trusts is in the stage of being solved. So the reorganization is gathering force.

MORE CULTURAL FACILITIES URGED FOR SIBERIA

LD261017 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian on 15 May 1981 carries on page three a 1,400-word dispatch under the rubric "Let's Make Siberia a Region of High Culture" entitled: "Base Settlements Ask To Be Shown Consideration" from I. Zhukov, director of the Tyumenskaya Oblast scientific method center for folkcraft and recreation, and L. Kostylev, chief of the TYUMENSKAYA PRAVDA culture and art section. Stressing the need for special consideration to be given to the exceptional needs of people living under the arduous conditions of the oblast's base camps, housing the families of oil, gas and timber industry workers doing 10-15 day tours of duty in the more remote surrounding area, the authors complain that "in Tyumenskaya Oblast there is a discrepancy between the development of production capacities and the network of recreational establishments," attributing this discrepency and related shortcomings to "departmentalism." The authors go on to call for local soviets and economic workers to show "greater activeness in matters of cultural building."

REGIONAL.

TAJIK LITERARY AND ART FESTIVAL HELD IN TASHKENT

Tajik Delegation in Tashkent

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 19 May 81 p 1

[Article by D. Ashurov, Z. Nasriddinov and L. Pil'man]

[Text] The airport of the capital of Uzbekistan was decorated festively. On the pediment of the terminal building were calico-colored banners with writing in the Tajik, Russian and Uzbek languages. A delegation from Tajikistan arrived here to-day to participate in the Days of Tajik Literature and Art in Uzbekistan. The guests were greeted at the aircraft gangway with "bread and salt" by eminent people of Tashkent, writers, artists, poets and composers as well as party, Soviet and Komsomol leaders.

Greetings rang out in foreign languages. Pioneers and school children handed the guests bright bouquets of flowers.

A meeting was held here in honor of the arrival of the delegation from fraternal Tajikistan. It was opened by the first secretary of the Tashkent party gorkom, U. Umarov.

The secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, A. U. Salimov, greeted the dear guests on behalf of the republic's workers.

It was noted at the meeting that today's celebration has special meaning and resonance because of the fact that it is taking place right after the 26th CPSU Congress which again emphasized the immense significance of literature and art in the life of the Soviet people and in the matter of communist education. The Days of Tajik Literature and Art which are beginning in the republic are called upon to make a worthy contribution to the noble cause of further mutual enrichment of the national cultures of the peoples of the USSR. It will be another clear demonstration of the monolithic unity of the republics of our country, which was the behest of the great Lenin.

Khamid Gulyam, a national writer of Uzbekistan, discussed the traditional ties between cultural activists of the two republics and the community of their literatures. "I have the impression," he said, "that to have Alisher Navoi among the guests today is itself a great event. We are proud that at the sources of our literatures are writers who created their works in the Uzbek and Tajik languages. Such were Sadridin Ayni and our unforgettable friend, Mirzo Tursun-zade."

On behalf of the workers of literature and art of Uzbekistan, the national writer congratulated the participants in the meeting on the beginning of a joyous international celebration of the two republics.

"From the first minutes of their visit to hospitable Uzbekistan, the emissaries from Tajikistan felt themselves to be among good and loyal friends," said G. B. Bobsadykova, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and the leader of the delegation who was speaking at the meeting. "Expressing our recognition of such a plassant meeting, we send you, all workers of fraternal Uzbekistan, the heartfelt greetings and the best wishes of all the Tajik people! The masters of literature and art who have come to Uzbekistan are impatiently waiting for meetings with readers, viewers and colleagues in creativity. These meetings give us all a new charge of energy to solve the largest problems facing us under the Eleventh Pive-Year Plan. Let these days be a real celebration of culture and art in our republics as well as a contribution to the development of the traditional friendly ties between our brother nations. Long live the inviolable friendship of our peoples!"

Ugbek Central Committee Conversation

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 19 May 81 p 1

[Article by D. Ashurov, Z. Nasriddinov and L. Pil'man]

[Text] Today the participants in the international celebration — the delegation of activists of literature and art of Tajikistan — were received by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. The guests were heartily greeted by candidate member of the politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Sh. R. Rashidov. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR as well as all workers of the republic, he wished the workers of fraternal Tajikistan great success in all areas of communist construction.

He emphasized during the course of the conversation that the 26th Party Congress had noted immense prospects for the development of the country's national economy, including our fraternal republics. It is symbolic that this international celebration is taking place right after the forum of the country's communists.

All plans and all efforts of the Soviet people are directed toward successful implementation of the historic plans of the congress. Heavy industry in Uzbekistan will be born again under the new five-year plan. Power engineering and many other branches of the national economy, particularly light industry, will develop at rapid rates. Emissaries from Uzbekistan will participate in further assimilation of the nonchernozem zone. Fulfilling their international duty, specialists of the republic will continuous future to render assistance to fraternal nations of the world.

Agricultural workers will also have to carry out immense tasks under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. They will sell the state 30 million tons of "white gold." Production of the more valuable thin-fibered strains of cotton will increase. New land will be assimilated at stepped-up rates, large grain growing zones will also be created, and animal husbandry will develop. To inspire our people to labor triumphs and praise our contemporaries constitute one of the important tasks of workers on the ideological front, activists of literature and art.

It is necessary to continue in the future to improve the work for explaining and publicizing the materials of the 26th Party Congress. Today's meeting and the Days of Tajik Literature and Art will play a large role in this. These days will become not only a bright celebration of the inviolable friendship and fraternity of Soviet peoples, but also a tribune for comprehensive publicity of the party decisions. The celebration of Tajik literature and art is a measure of great socio-political significance. And at the same time it requires hard work on the part of each of its participants.

The main tasks of the workers of culture and art is to reflect in a worthy way the immense accomplishments of the Soviet people and to educate the Soviet people in the spirit of patriotism, socialist internationalism and fidelity to the behasts of the great Lenin. Today's celebration is another page in the chronicle of friendship of our peoples and clear evidence of the triumph of the Leninist nationalist policy. During these days you are carrying the great banner of friendship, fraternity and kinship of the literature and art of the two republics throughout the cities and villages of Uzbekistan where our dear guests are being joyfully awaited.

G. B. Bobosadykova, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, related her heartfelt gratitude for the warm reception from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and the republic government. She expressed her confidence that the Days of Tajik Literature and Art in Uzbekistan will proceed on the highest level and will make a worthy contribution to the further mutual enrichment and development of the national cultures of the fraternal Soviet nations.

Participating in the discussions were members of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, L. I. Grekov, T. N. Osetrov, A. U. Salimov, I. B. Usmankhodzhayev, and A. A. Khodzhayev; deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Tajik SSR, R. Yu. Yusufbekov; and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR, R. Kh. Abdullayeva.

REGIONAL

KAZAKHSTAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECREE ON AGRICULTURE

Alma Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 81 pp 1, 3

Decree of the Second Plenum of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee: "On the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organisation With Regard To Further Intensification of Agriculture in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the Directives and Recommendations of the CPSU CC General Secretary, Comrade L. I. Breshnev"

Text After hearing and discussing the report by member of the CPSU CC Politburo and first secretary of the Communist Party of Kasakhstan CC, Comrade D. A. Kunayev, "On the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organisation with Regard to the Further Intensification of Agriculture in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the Directives and Recommendations of the CPSU CC General Secretary, L. I. Breshnev," the Plenum of the Communist Party of Kasakhstan CC notes that the communists and working people of this republic, as well as the entire Soviet people, have accepted with profound satisfaction the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, the positions and conclusions of the Summary Report of the CPSU CC; they entirely and fully approve and /illegible word/ support the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU, the fruitful and purposeful activity of the CPSU CC, and its Politburo, headed by that outstanding political and state leader of our times, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The Congress devoted particular attention to the further upsurge of agriculturethe foundation of the Farty's foodstuff program.

Kazakhstan's role in the country's rural economy is growing. Thanks to the consistent implementation of the CPSU's agrarian policy, this republic has become a major grain and livestock base.

Nevertheless, the Plenum considers that the level which has been achieved in the production of agricultural commodities does not fully meet the requirements of the present day, existing reserves, and potentials. Certain oblasts, rayons, and farms have not successfully coped with the assigned tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan with respect to sales to the state of grain, meat, and other commodities. Some farms have allowed a large amount of cattle plague and the use of cattle for intra-farm needs, as well as the discarding of breeding stock and reductions in weight additions.

Specialized livestock raising for meat has developed insufficiently in the Alma-Atinskaya, Vostochno-Kasakhstanskaya, Dzhambulskaya and other oblasts. Not

everywhere has the transition been carried out to intensive methods of raising and feeding livestock; the progressive experience of livestock breeders has been insufficiently widespread, as a result of which many farms of the Dzhezkazganskaya, Gur'yevskaya, and Chimkentskaya Oblasts send rather lightweight and undernourished livestock to the slaughterhouse.

Certain oblasts lag behind in fulfilling their assigned tasks with regard to increasing the head and productivity of sheep. During the past five-year plan the Pavlodarskaya, Turgayskaya, Dzhezkazganskaya, Kzyl-Ordinskaya, and Dzhambulskaya Oblasts reduced their number. On many farms the breeding herd is being increased too slowly, a great deal of plague and squandering of sheep have been allowed.

Full use is not being made of the potentials for developing the raising of karakul sheep, goats, pigs, poultry, and rabbits. Production is also increasing too slowly in the areas of horsebreeding, camelbreeding, pond-type fish raising, beekeeping, and raising wild animals for furs.

There have been quite a few gaps in the development of livestock raising for dairy purposes. In comparison with last year, the Dzhezkazganskaya, Aktyubinskaya, and Karagandinskaya Oblasts have permitted a reduction in the milk yields and have reduced the amounts of production and sales of milk to the state.

Many farms are conducting veterinary and stockbreeding operations on an insufficiently high level; a considerable amount of non-thoroughbred animals are being maintained in the herds, while the sanitary standards on private farms are too low.

Not everywhere are the assigned tasks being carried out with regard to creating subsidiary agro-industrial enterprises and organizations, and insufficient use is being made of the potentials of the private farms of sovkhoz workers, kolkhoz members, and office workers for supplementing meat and dairy resources.

The Karagandinskaya, Kzyl-Ordinskaya, Ural'skaya and certain other oblasts have inadequately carried out the decisions of the 11th Plenum (1979) of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan CC with regard to creating a firm fodder base. Development of the mixed-feed and microbiological industries have lagged behind.

Not everywhere is a persistent struggle being waged for high standards of agriculture and an increase in the harvest of agricultural crops. The farms of the Dzhambulskaya, Vostochno'kazakhstanskaya, Taldy-Kurganskaya, Semipalatinskaya and a number of other oblasts have been too slow in mastering crop rotation and in introducing soil-protection complexes; they have not put seed production on a high enough level, they have been ineffective in utilizing equipment, organic and mineral fertilizers, and they have inadequately disseminated the experience of skilled masters of high harvests. The directors of individual farms have accorded too little importance to increasing the production of buckwheat, fodder-type, technical and vegetable oil-type crops. A great deal of unevenness has been permitted in the harvest yields of potatoes, vegetables, and cotton. The Dzhambulskaya and Taldy-Kurganskaya Oblasts underfulfilled their five-year plans with respect to procurements of sugar beets; they reduced their production of sugar by means of local raw material. The losses in output are still considerable.

There is also an insufficient return on capital investments in reclamation; frequently the harvest from irrigated lands is less than that from bogara/unirrigated land/. Such things occur when hydraulic-engineering construction is carried out at a low level of quality.

At a number of sovkhozes and kolkhozes ineffective use is being made of fixed production assets. Capital investments are made without the requisite economic grounds, cost outlays and unproductive expenditures are too great, production costs are too high, profitability is too low, and extensive losses are permitted.

Certain agricultural scientific research institutions operate in isolation from the demands of production; they are lagging behind in creating new, highly effective species of agricultural crops and breeds of animals, and they are too slow in introducing the achievements of science and advanced practical experience.

Certain industrial, construction, and transport organizations of this republic do not always fulfill on schedule the orders of the rural areas, and they render insufficient supervisory assistance to sovkhozes and kolkhozes. They have not been persistent enough in solving the problems of speeding up the construction and modernization of enterprises engaged in farm machine building, increasing the output of highly productive equipment, and raising the level of its quality.

The Plenum of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan CC considers that the agricultural ministries and departments, individual Party obkoms and raykoms, oblispolkoms and rayispolkoms have insufficiently mobilized the sovkhoz and kolkhoz groups to fully utilize the existing reserves for increasing the production of agriculture and livestock raising. Certain Party committees have not shown the requisite concern for raising the level of Party leadership in agriculture, development of socialist competition, disseminating the experience of leading workers, nor have they exhibited a principled strictness toward the management staffs for observing Party and state discipline, and they have devoted insufficient attention to monitoring the fulfillment of the directives of the Party and government.

Many local Soviets of People's Deputies, trade-union and Komsomol organizations, as well as organs of people's control, are still exerting too weak an influence on speeding up scientific and technical progress and on intensifying this republic's agriculture.

The Plenum of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan CC hereby/decrees/ [in boldface]:

1. To consider as the most important task of the Party organizations, Soviet and agricultural organs of this republic the further steady implementation of the agrarian policy of the CPSU and of practical measures for developing agriculture, as well as the positions and tasks which were set forth in the Summary Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev with regard to this matter.

To obligate the Party obkoms and raykoms, oblispolkoms and rayispolkoms, the ministries of agriculture and fruit-and-vegetable farms, procurements, reclamation, and water supply of the Kazakh SSR, Goskomsel'khoztekhnika of the Kazakh SSR, Glavrissovkhozstroy, the primary Party organizations, and farm directors to eliminate

the existing deficiencies in the development of agricultural production, on the basis of this sector's universal intensification to ensure the unconditional fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges with regard to the production and procurement of products of agriculture and livestock raising so that throughout the republic as a whole increases are achieved in the average annual volume of the sector's total production during the 11th Five-Year Plan amounting to 11--13 percent, and to improve the supply of foodstuffs to the population and of raw materials to industry.

2. In accordance with the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, which defined live-stock raising as the shockwork front in rural areas, demand that Party, Soviet, agricultural organs, primary Party organizations, and sovkhoz and kolkhoz directors develop and implement effective measures to sharply increase the head of live-stock and its productivity on all categories of farms. Devote top-priority attention to increasing beef production and to the development of specialized live-stock raising for meat. Improve the reproduction of the herd, increase the proportion of beef cattle, and eliminate barreness. Increase the weight added and realize a gain at slaughter time in calfs at ages of 18-20 months of 420-450 kilograms each.

Increase the head of sheep in the republic to 50 million by 1990, ensure an evergrowing production volume of mutton, wool, and karakul, as well as improving their quality. Intensively develop pig farming and poultry farming, especially broilers. In every oblast increase the head of horses and the production of horse meat. Devote more attention to rasing goats, camels, rabbits, pond-type fish farming, bee-keeping, and raising wild animals for furs.

Improve the organization of production and labor in raising cattle for dairy purposes. Increase the number of cattle, raise their productivity, bring the milk yield within the next few years to 2500--3,000 kilograms per cow, and in the farms of the suburban zone--to 3500--4,000 kilograms per cow. Implement measures with regard to increasing the total milk yields in such quantities as to fully satisfy the needs of the population of the cities and industrial centers for this product by means of their own production, particularly in the Alma-Atinskaya, Karagandin-skaya, Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya, Pavlodarskaya, and Chimkentskaya Oblasts. Persistently introduce assembly-line, workshop technology on dairy farms, directed at rearing calves to replenish the herd.

Put breeding and veterinary operations into good order, raise sanitary standards on private farms, make the farms healthy and free of infectious diseases, carry on a decisive struggle against plague and non-productive waste of animals.

Party and Soviet organs, ministries and departments should intensify their work with regard to creating subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises, construction, transport, trade, and other organizations. Render all manner of assistance to developing the private farms of citizens, improve the organization of procuring excess produce from the population and the barter of fodder and consumer goods.

3. Obligate the Party obkoms and raykoms, oblispolkoms and rayispolkoms, agricultural organs and farm directors to ensure the fulfillment of the measures which have been worked out for strengthening the fodder base for the years 1981--1985. Fay particular attention to increasing the production of fodder protein by means

of expanding the sowings of soy beans, peas, alfalfa, and other leguminous crops. Achieve significant growth in the accumulated volumes of hay, silage, and high-quality feeds for satisfying the needs for them on the part of the socially owned livestock and the privately owned livestock of the kolkhoz members, as well as the sovkhoz workers and office employees. Create reserve supplies of feeds on each farm.

The Kazakh SSR Ministry of the Timber and Wood-Processing Industry should sharply increase the production of coniferous sawdust and the procurement of hay in forest lands for sovkhozes and kolkhozes. The republic's Ministry of Procurements should adopt measures to utilize the capacities of the existing and newly introduced mixed-feed enterprises, as well as to improve the quality of the mixed feeds and additives being produced.

Develop in an organized way operations for the procurement of feeds, complete the repair and preparation of the haying equipment in the southern oblasts no later than 15 May and in the remaining ones--by 1 June 1981. Make extensive use of progressive technology for the procurement, storage, and utilization of feeds.

4. The Plenum emphasizes that further growth in the production of grain, the most important foodstuff and fodder crops, implementation of the directive of L. I. Brezhnev to establish as the norm an average harvest of 20 quintals per hectare throughout the republic --all this constitutes, as before, the key task of the republic's Party organizations, Soviet, and agricultural organs. Based on a steppedup intensification of agriculture ensure in 1981 a total grain harvest amounting to 28--29 million tons, as well as the fulfillment of the plans for grain procurement by every sovkhoz, kolkhoz, rayon, and oblast. Pay particular attention to increasing the production and procurements of buckwheat, millet, rice, and other crops. The Dzhambulskiy, Taldy-Kurganskiy, and Alma-Atinskiy Party obkoms and oblispolkoms should adopt measures to bring about the growth of harvests and procurements of sugar beets. Increase the production of cotton, potatoes, vegetables, fruits, sunflower seeds, and flax. Expand the hothouse system. Improve the quality of the produce; curtail its losses at all stages--from the field to the retail outlets.

The Party, Soviet, and agricultural organs, the primary Party organizations, along with the sovkhoz and kolkhoz directors must ensure the timely promulgation of the entire complex of springtime field operations on a high agro-technical level, to lay a firm foundation for obtaining a large harvest.

Group "B" industrial sectors should seek out additional reserves for increasing the production of consumer goods, improving the processing of agricultural produce, and expanding the volume of their canning operations.

Intensify the struggle to attain a high degree of production efficiency, the fulfillment of tasks by every enterprise, and the accelerated growth in the output of produce which determines technical progress in the national economy.

5. The Party obkoms and oblispolkoms, the ministries of agriculture, fruits and vegetables, reclamation, and water-supply engineering, as well as Glavrissovkhozstroy, must everywhere increase the yield of irrigated lands and achieve the complete assimilation of the funds being allocated for hydraulic engineering

construction. Significantly increase the harvest yields of all agricultural crops on irrigated lands. Make more extensive use of underground waters for purposes of irrigation. Step up the pace of main water pipelines in the republic's northern oblasts.

- 6. The Plenum obligates Gosplan, the ministries of agriculture, fruits, and vegetables, Party and Soviet organs, as well as sovkhoz and kolkhoz directors to improve planning and economic operations on farms, to achieve an increase in the effectiveness and quality of operations, along with the yields on funds being invested and the profitable management of all branches of agriculture and livestock raising. Unleash a persistent struggle for economies and savings, a highly effective utilization of land, production funds, equipment, and fertilizers, financial and labor resources, as well as the strengthening of the financial and economic status of the farms. Deepen the specialization and concentration of production, based on inter-farm cooperation and agro-technical integration. Strengthen work on the comprehensive mechanization of all branches of agriculture, especially livestock raising.
- 7. Obligate the Party obkoms and oblispolkoms, the Eastern Division of VASKhNIL (All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin), as well as the agricultural ministries and departments to adopt measures for increasing the effectiveness of scientific research. Concentrate scientific efforts and means on solving the urgent problems of agricultural production, paying particular attention to developing and perfecting high-yield sorts of local selection of agricultural crops and livestock breeds. Strengthen the tie between science and production and speed up the introduction of scientific developments.
- 8. Obligate the agricultural ministries and departments, the Party obkoms and oblispolkoms to increase the rate and improve the quality of the construction of production, communal-service facilities, and housing in the rural areas. Introduce on a timely basis enterprises engaged in agricultural machine building, in processing agricultural produce, as well as points of chemicalization, potato storehouses, and other projects. Gosstroy, the Ministry of Agricultural Construction, and the Ministry of Agriculture of the Kazakh SSR must be more strict in promulgating technical policy in the rural areas, in improving planning, reducing costs, and adopting more progressive technical solutions; it should not allow a dispersal of funds but rather make extensive use of local building materials.
- 9. The Party obkoms and raypolkoms must improve Party leadership of agriculture, achieve a strengthening of all units of agricultural production and management by politically mature and knowledgeable organizers, as well as by staffs of machine operators and other mass occupations. Adopt measures for further increasing the readiness for the struggle on the part of primary Party organizations of sovkhozes, kolkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises; increase their role in the intensification of agriculture. Ensure a high level of monitoring and checking up of performance; develop criticism and self-criticism. Take all measures to strengthen Party and state discipline, create an atmosphere of high mutual exactingness and high standards, along with an irreconcilable attitude toward manifestations of poor management, wastefulness, and lack of discipline.

Persistently increase the role of the local Soviets of People's Deputies, tradeunion organizations, the Komsomol, organs of people's control in developing the rural economy and in improving the work of enterprises in the sphere of providing services to the rural laborers.

The Kazakhstan Komsomol CC should activate a movement under the slogans "Let's multiply the power of a Komsomol hectare!" and "Sheep raising is a matter for young hands."

Obligate the Farty obkoms and oblispolkoms, the managers of industrial, construction, transport, and other organizations, creative unions, and mass information media to increase their attention to the problems of further developing and improving supervisory links with the rural areas; they must not allow manifestations of parasitical tendencies to appear in them.

Unleash on a broader basis socialist competition for increasing the effectiveness of agricultural production and for improving the quality of the output of agriculture and livestock raising. Use all measures to support and disseminate the experience of advanced groups, as well as production innovators; make fuller use of the press, television, and radio for these purposes.

. . .

The Plenum of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan CC assures the Leninist CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo, and the General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, that the Communists and all the working people of this republic, closely consolidated around their own Communist Party, will do everything to successfully implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress; they guarantee in the current year as well as the succeeding years of the 11th Five-Year Plan a considerable increase in the production and sale to the state of grain, meat, milk, and other agricultural products, and they will make a worthy contribution to the cause of building communism.

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